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DANTE'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY *

Dante Alighieri was not only an historian, a philosopher and a Catholic; he was also a poet, a theologian and a mystic. It would, therefore, be a deformation to present his philosophy of history in a frigid analysis of abstract notions. Of course, at the base of his thought there is the conceptual quadrilateral common to all Catholic philosophy of history—the four fundamental ideas of Progress, Providence, Freedom and the Fall; the conceptions, that is, of human perfectibility, Divine guidance, individual responsibility and universal solidarity in Adam's sin. Nevertheless, the pyramid of his thought rises with a peculiar Dantesque abruptness; its sides are adorned with the resources of a rare art; the main lines of his philosophy soar into a perspective of great theological height; and the apex of his synthesis is a mystical point far beyond the vision of a plain historian.

I

He begins, as every philosopher of history must begin, with a perception of the history of humanity, *as a whole*. He is aware, of course, that the documentary evidence available for such a view does not give him, in every detail, the complete cavalcade of human happenings. He is only too conscious that at first sight the mere

* Paper read at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 28, 1933, Pittsburgh.

sum total of the chronicles is little more than a nebulous and amorphous mass of miscellaneous information. He is even more aware that if there is any ultimate meaning discernible in human history, it is a meaning, like the bottom of the ocean, visible to human eyes only near the shore and not in the profounder depths (*Par.* xix, 61).

Yet he scrutinizes the vast canvas of history as a man might scrutinize the *Last Judgment* of Michelangelo. He looks, after the first chaotic impression of lines and colors, for some discernible pattern, some apparent harmony, some representation, some meaning. He looks not merely with his eyes, but with his mind and his spirit. He looks, it is true, at particular parts of the canvas, as it were, with a magnifying glass. Yet he prefers to stand at just that ideal point where each detail can be seen with adequate distinctness but, more especially, as a part of a larger whole; at just that point where in the multitude of events, there is apparent some unity of conception, some form, design, pattern, order and significant purpose.

Dante has perhaps nowhere expressed, more explicitly, this sense of humanity as an organic whole than in the opening chapters of his Latin work on the Nature of Political Authority, the *De Monarchia*. It is here, I think, that he makes his most original contribution to a non-theological philosophy of history; for it is here that he attempts what I believe is the essential task of the philosopher of history—to give a meaning and value to human history as a whole, by discerning some purpose which is as specifically assignable to universal humanity, as the well known Aristotelian purposes are specifically assignable to the individual, the family and the state.

Dante opens the *De Monarchia* with a declaration of faith in human progress. "Upon all men," he writes, "whom a common humanity has lifted to the love of Truth, and who have been enriched by the labors of the past, there rests, surely, this responsibility of so toiling for the future that posterity may be enriched by them." Else, he continues, mankind must resemble rather a maelstrom, ingurgitating whatever comes its way, than a tree planted by the running water, and bearing fruit in season. Nor,

he says, is it enough merely to carry on, undimmed, the light of learning. What profit, he asks, in proving once more what has already been established by Euclid, Aristotle, Cicero? "I desire," he says of himself, "to bear fruit; to reveal pinnacles of truth unscaled by others." He wants to enter the caverns and bring forth Truth from hidden places; like a knight of humanity he wants to gird himself with the grace of God and his natural genius, and kneeling in vigil at the shrine of Truth, to prepare for the morrow's battles in the cause of Progress.

That humanity, as a single historical whole, has an assignable purpose Dante cannot doubt. It is surely folly, he argues, to imagine that there is a purpose for this civilization and that, and not a common purpose for humanity in its totality and solidarity—*illud igitur, si quid est, quod est finis universalis civilitatis humani generis* (*De Mon.*, I, ii, 8). Nature has a purpose, he says, in providing us with a finger, a hand, an arm; and wider than the purpose of the individual man, there is a purpose in the family, the community, the neighborhood, the city, the state, the Empire. Hence, Dante thinks, there must be a purpose which the Author of Nature intends to have effected in human history, not by supernatural destination, but by His Art which is Nature—*denique finis ad quem universaliter genus humanum, Deus aeternus, arte sua, quae natura est, in esse producit* (*Ibid.*, I, iii, 2). There must be some work for humanity as a whole to pursue and achieve—*aliqua propria operatio humanae universitatis ad quam ipsa universitas hominum in tanta multitudine ordinatur* (*Ibid.*, 4). This historical purpose, he argues, must be a purpose which is specifically human and, therefore, intellectual. Yet unlike the intellectual purpose of the individual, is is a purpose which requires the whole multitude of mankind. *Et quia potentia ista per unum hominem seu per aliquam particularium communitatum superius distinctarum tota simul in actu reduci non potest, necesse est multitudinem esse in humano genere, per quam quidem tota potentia haec actuetur* (*Ibid.*, I, iii, 8). Hence the purpose of humanity in its totality and solidarity—that is to say the meaning of history as assignable in human philosophy—is the unceasing and progressive actuation of every possibility of human intelligence, primarily in

the order of speculative thought and, correlatively, in the order of visible achievement. *Proprium opus humani generis totaliter accepti est actuare semper totam potentiam intellectus possibilis, per prius ad speculandum et, secundario, propter hoc, ad operandum per suam extensionem* (*Ibid.*, I, iv, 1).

The idea of human Progress, then, is the first of the four conceptions which make up what I have called the fundamental quadrilateral of Dante's philosophy of history. He conceives of human Progress, however, not merely as intellectual. What, in the concrete, mankind is ever striving for is for an ordered society in Liberty and Peace, "so that," as Dante says in the concluding chapter of the third book of the *De Monarchia*, "in this little threshing floor of mortal life men may live in liberty and peace"—*ut scilicet in areola ista mortalium libere cum pace vivatur* (*Ibid.*, III, xvi, 11). Peace must be an ultimate purpose of humanity, for without it intellectual perfectibility would be in vain. Just, he says, as the individual can only reach the heights of prudence and wisdom in the quiet of repose, so humanity can only achieve its all but divine task in the tranquillity of peace. *Patet quod genus humanum in quiete sive tranquillitate pacis ad proprium suum opus quod fere divinum est . . . liberrime atque facillime se habet. Unde manifestum est quod Pax universalis est optimum eorum quae ad nostram beatitudinem ordinantur* (*Ibid.*, I, iv, 2).

Linked with Peace as an end of mankind is the reign of Justice. Justice, in Dante's interpretation of Virgil's famous fourth eclogue is the Virgin who ushers in the Golden Age: *Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna* (Cited in *De Mon.*, I, xi, 1). Liberty, then, must join with Peace and Justice in the ideal consummation of human history. By Liberty Dante means that condition in which men as men shall be subordinate to no inferior human purposes—*ut homines propter se sint*. For, he says, in the ideal state, the citizens are not for the consuls, nor the people for the king, but *e converso*, the consuls are for the citizens, and the king for the people; and just as it is not the State which is for the laws but the laws for the State, so those who obey the laws are not the ministers of the magistrate, but rather he is the servant of the citizens.

Progress then in Culture and Civilization, in Philosophy and Art, in the Liberty and Law of an ordered society, that is the goal, as Dante sees it, towards which humanity in its historical evolution is moving. One has only to recall Condorcet's enthusiastic visions of human perfectibility, Kant's ideal of an ordered freedom in civil society, and Hegel's philosophy in which "the history of the world is nothing but the development of the idea of freedom," to realize how little that appears profound in more modern thinking has escaped the mind of Dante.

II

Dante, however, could never have rested content with a naturalistic interpretation of history. To him the conception of humanity in its historical totality and naturally discernible teleology is but a fraction of a wider vision of cosmological totality and supernatural teleology. Even in the *De Monarchia* he cannot end without observing that our mortal felicity is subordinate to that which is immortal—*cum mortalis ista felicitas quodammodo ad immortalam felicitatem ordinetur* (*Ibid.*, III, xvi, 17). Every reader of the *Divina Commedia* will recall the two passages near the end of the *Paradiso* in which Dante represents himself as looking down from stellar and even empyrean heights on the tiny threshing floor of human history—*questa aiuola*—whereon we midgets wax so fierce (*Par.*, xxii, 151; xxvii, 86). Rolling, as he then was, with the everlasting Twins, he caught a vision of the world which set it in the perspective of a realm of limitless light and love where time and space are lost in God.

Divine Providence, therefore, is the second of those threads which Dante is fond of tracing across the whole tapestry of time. In his higher vision, human Progress is not so much eliminated as sublimated; it is seen in function of a sublimer and more ultimate purpose. All history, in fact, becomes but a portion of that cosmic panorama which is all but a foot-print of Divine Reality—*cum totum universum nichil aliud sit quam vestigium quoddam Divinae Bonitatis* (*De Mon.*, I, viii, 2).

Not even St. Augustine is more aware than Dante of what may

be called the sacramental interpretation of history—of Progress as an outward sign of inward Providence, of Liberty and Peace as but the visible towers of the True City—*de la vera città almen la torre* (*Purg.*, xvi, 96)—of that Rome whereof Christ is a Roman—*di quella Roma onde Cristo è Romano* (*Purg.*, xxxii, 102).

This theological interpretation of history is everywhere apparent in Dante's work. It must suffice here to recall a single passage in the opening canto of the *Paradiso* which sufficiently illustrates Dante's large vision of the cosmos:

All things whatsoever observe a mutual order; and this the form that maketh the universe like to God. . . .

In the Order of which I speak all things incline, by diverse lots, more near and less unto their principle;

Wherefore, they move to diverse ports o'er the great sea of being, and each one with instinct given it to bear it on. . . .

Nor only the creatures that lack intelligence doth this bow shoot, but those that have intelligence and love. . . .

True it is, that as the form often accordeth not with the intention of the art, because that the material is dull to answer,

So from this course sometimes departeth the creature that hath power, thus thrust, to swerve toward some other part (*Par.*, i, 103 ff.).

The last *terzina* here quoted may serve to remind us, however, that Dante does not conceive of human history as necessitated by the Divine Counsels. The history of humanity is not a monochrome; but a multicolored canvas on which Liberty and Sin are as apparent as Providence and Progress. What is inexorable in history is not its course, but its consummation. It is only on the meta-historical stage of Eternity that the Divine drama of Punishment, Purification, Peace proceeds without regard to human promptings. On that stage men's souls meet Divine Justice with ineluctable Fate; but on the stage of human history the wheel of Fortune can be turned and stayed by human Freedom. That, it seems to me, is what is implied in a famous utterance of Dante in which he tells, in a letter to Can Grande della Scala, the matter and meaning and motive of the *Divina Commedia*:

The subject matter of the work as a whole (he says) is the fate of souls after death; and this is its literal meaning. In its allegorical sense, the

work is about humanity, in so far as man by the freedom of his will can merit or demerit reward or punishment at the hand of Justice. . . . My motive, therefore, in the work, both as regards the whole and its parts, is to rescue living men from their misfortunes, and direct them to a state of happiness.¹

The wheel of Fortune can be turned and stayed by human Freedom; for this is the sense of such expressions as this, in the sixteenth canto of the *Purgatorio*:

The heavens set your impulses in motion; I say not all, but suppose
I said it, a light is given you to know good and evil,
And Freewill, which, if it endure the strain in its first battlings with
the heavens at length gains the whole victory, if it be well nurtured.
Ye lie subject, in your Freedom, to a greater power and to a better
nature; and that creates in you the mind which the heavens have
not in their charge.
Therefore, if the world to-day goeth astray, in you is the cause, in you
be it sought (*Purg.*, xvi, 73. Cf. xviii, 61 ff.).

Nevertheless Dante also uses the conception of *Fortuna* as meaning the larger and inexorable action of Divine Providence regulating the tidal rhythm in the ebb and flow of Empires. Allusion need only be given to a well known passage in the *Inferno*:

He whose wisdom is transcendent over all, made the heavens and gave
them guides, so that every part shines to every part,
Equally distributing the light; in like manner, for worldly splendors,
He ordained a general minister and guide,
To change betimes the vain possessions, from people to people, and
from one kindred to another, beyond the hindrance of human wisdom;
Hence one people commands, another languishes; obeying her sentence,
which is hidden like the serpent in the grass.
Your knowledge cannot understand her; she provides, judges, and main-
tains her kingdom, as the other Gods do theirs.
Her permutations have no truce; necessity makes her be swift; thus
he comes oft who doth a change obtain.

¹ Est ergo subiectum totius operis, litteraliter tantum accepti, status animarum post mortem simpliciter sumptus. . . . Si vero accipiat opus allegorice, subiectum est homo prout merendo et demerendo per arbitrii libertatem Justitiæ præmiandi et puniendi obnoxius est. . . . Finis totius et partis est removere viventes in hac vita de statu miseriæ et perducere ad statum felicitatis (*Epis.*, XIII, 24, 39).

This is she who is so much reviled, even by those who ought to praise her, when blaming her wrongfully, and with evil words (*Inf.*, vii, 73 ff.).

One of the most evident operations of Divine Providence in human history, as Dante reads the record, is the unfolding of the ordered peace of Roman Imperialism. Every one will recall the splendid song on the flight of the Eagle, which Dante, in the sixth canto of the *Paradiso*, puts into the mouth of the hero of the reign of Law, Justinian. In the *Convivio*, on the same theme, Dante is, if possible, even more lyrical. Rome's progress, he says proceeded not merely by human but by divine operations—*non pur per umane ma per divine operazioni andò lo suo processo*. He sees the hand of God in the diversity of endowments among the early kings; just as elsewhere he says that it is by an overruling Divine Providence that "one is born Solon, and one Xerxes and one Melchisedech" (*Par.*, viii, 124). The Republican age of Rome Dante finds thronged with citizens more divine than human—*non con umani cittadini ma con divini*, whose souls were inspired with more than natural love—*non con amore umano ma divino*. Who could fail to see, he says, a divine afflatus in men like Fabricius, Curius (Dentatus), Mucius (Scaevola), (Manlius) Torquatus, the Decii and the Drusi, Regulus and Cincinnatus, "taken from his farm to be Dictator, and returning to the plough when the task was done." The mere mention of Cato rouses Dante to an outburst of reverent admiration: *O sacratissimo petto di Catone*, he calls out, *chi presumerà di te parlare?* "It is manifest," he concludes, "that these extraordinary men were instruments of a Divine Providence over the Roman Empire" (*Conv.*, IV, v, 17).

Not, of course, that in Dante's mind the end of all these sublime sacrifices, the ordered liberty of the *Pax Romana* was an ultimate historical consummation. Both Rome and her Empire, he says in a well known *terzina* in the *Inferno*, were established to be the cradle of the Church of Christ. Imperial Peace was a preparation for the Roman Primacy:

La quale e il quale, a voler dir lo vero
fu stabilita per lo loco santo
u' siede il successor del maggior Piero (*Inf.*, ii, 22).

It is, in fact, particularly in the history of the Church that Dante traces the hand of God. One has only to recall the Mystical Procession of the Chariot of the Church in the concluding cantos of the *Purgatorio*. Or again, one can see Dante's faith in the words in *Paradiso* (xi) in which St. Thomas speaks of the rôles of St. Francis and St. Dominic:

The Providence which governeth the world—with Counsel wherein every creature's gaze must stay, defeated e'er it reach the bottom—
In order that the Spouse of Him, who with loud cries espoused her with the Blessed Blood, might go toward her delight,
Secure within herself and faithfuller to Him, two Princes did ordain on her behalf, who on this side and that should be for guides.
The one was all seraphic in his ardor, the other by his wisdom was on earth a splendor of cherubic light (*Par.*, xi, 28 ff.).

It need hardly be added that in his Providential interpretation of history Dante always sees the Incarnation as the central point. This is the focus to which all previous facts had pointed and from which all subsequent light has issued. Perhaps the most enthusiastic statement of what he calls "the immeasurable benignity of God in willing to refashion fallen man in the image which Adam lost" is in the fourth book of the *Convivio*. It is there that he ends by breaking out into invective against those who take any but a supernatural view in such a matter—*filando e zappando ciò che Iddio, che tanta Provedenza hae ordinata. Maladetti siate voi, e la vostra presunzione, e chi a voi crede* (*Conv.*, IV, v, 9).

III

Progress and Providence, then, are the two main threads in the woof of human history. None the less, into its texture and design there enters the warp of Freedom and the Fall. Humanity is made up of men; and therefore, the pattern of history must depend on whether individual choice is free or constrained; and whether the progress of the flock is a flight with wounded wings.

Dante is emphatically opposed to a determinist interpretation of history. In the *Commedia* he makes Virgil and Beatrice, that is to say the Pagan and Christian philosophies of history, acknowl-

edge the primacy of Freedom among the endowments of human kind. "By the noble virtue," says Virgil to Dante, "Beatrice understands Free Will, and therefore look that thou have this in mind if she take her to speak with thee thereof" (*Purg.*, xviii, 73). When, in fact, Beatrice does speak of it, she says:

The greatest gift that God of His largess made at the creation, and the most conformed to His own excellence, and which He most prizeth, Was the will's liberty, wherewith creatures intelligent, both all and only, were and are endowed (*Par.*, v, 19).

Hence to Dante, history is not merely the progressive actuation of the speculative intellect, but likewise of the practical reason in its ordered choices. We may in fact apply to the course of human history the words which Virgil uses in speaking of Dante's journey: *Libertà va cercando ch'è sì cara*—He goes in search of Freedom which is so much loved. This point, I trust, will become more clear when I attempt a synthesis of Dante's thought as revealed in the *Commedia*.

History, however, in Dante's view is not merely the story of Freedom wisely used; it is likewise the tragedy of ill-used Liberty. Dante, indeed, might be thought to have put an undue emphasis on the tragic interpretation of history. He never forgets humanity's solidarity in Adam's sin; so that the Fall becomes the fourth side of the base of his philosophy of history. One has only to read the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth cantos of the *Purgatorio* to understand how different history would have been, as Dante saw it, had Eve not tempted Adam. In that hypothesis, Matilda would have been a fitting symbol of man's radiant progress:

A lady solitary, who went along singing, and culling flower after flower, wherewith all her path was painted . . . (*Purg.*, xxviii, 41).

It is Matilda who says to Dante:

The highest Good, who himself alone doth please, made man good and for goodness, and gave this place to him as an earnest of eternal peace. Through his default, small time he sojourned here; through his default, for tears and sweat he exchanged honest laughter and sweet play (*Ibid.*, 91).

They who in olden times sang of the Golden Age and its happy state, perchance dreamed in Parnassus of this place.

Here the root of man's race was innocent; here spring is everlasting, and every kind of fruit (*Ibid.*, 139).

Dante cannot withhold a reproach against our Mother Eve:

And a sweet melody ran through the luminous air; wherefore righteous zeal made me reprove Eve's daring,

Who, there where heaven and earth obeyed, a woman alone and but then formed, did not bear to remain under any veil,

Under which, if she had been devout, I should have tasted those ineffable joys ere this, and for a longer time (*Purg.*, xxix, 22).

It is however in the allegory of the *Gran Veglio*—the Old Man of Crete—as it appears in the fourteenth canto of the *Inferno*, that Dante's thought is most impressive. The island of Crete is selected as being at a central point equally distant from the three then-known homes of humanity—Asia, Europe and Africa. Mount Ida is chosen as being the scene where the cries of the new-born Jupiter were drowned by the uproar of the Corybantes:

In the middle of the sea lies a waste country which is named Crete, under whose King the world once was chaste.

A mountain is there, called Ida, which once was glad with waters and with foliage; now it is deserted like an antiquated thing.

Rhea of old chose it for the faithful cradle of her son; and the better to conceal him, when he wept, caused cries to be made thereon.

Within the mountain stands erect a great Old Man, who keeps his shoulders turned towards Damietta, and looks at Rome as if it were his mirror.

His head is shapen of fine gold, his arms and his breast are pure silver; then he is of brass to the cleft:

From thence downwards he is all of chosen iron, save that the right foot is of baked clay; and he rests more on this than on the other.

Every part, except the gold, is broken with a fissure that drops tears which collected perforate that grotto.

Their course descends from rock to rock into this valley; they form Acheron, Styx, and Phlegethon, then, by this narrow conduit go down

To where there is no more descent; they form Coeytus, and thou shalt see what kind of lake that is; here therefore, I describe it not (*Inf.*, xiv, 94 ff.).

The imagery here is, obviously, based on the vision in Daniel, II, 32 ff.; but no less obviously we have here a very original expression of the tragic interpretation of history. The Old Man,

says Dante's own son Pietro in his Latin Commentary, is a *mundus minor*—a microcosm of humanity—to symbolize the *transcursus aetatum mundi*—the cavalcade of all the ages of the world. Dante's other son Jacopo, together with Jacopo della Lana and Boccaccio, concur in this interpretation. Specifically, of course, it is the element of tragedy that is emphasized. But for the Fall, Dante seems to be saying, history would have been one long legend of a Golden Age; but with sin death came into the world, and all our woe. What is most grandiose in the conception is that all the tragedy that darkens the stream of history is to flow spirally round the inverted cone of Dante's Hell until it reaches the lake of frozen tears, Cocytus. When, therefore, human history shall have an end, Satan from whom all tears take their rise will be eternally frozen over by the relentless deluge of evil, at that point in the cosmos most remote from the center of God's light and love. Satan will achieve his destiny through the very fruit of all his efforts to frustrate humanity from reaching God.

Here Dante is looking on tragedy in its most lurid colors—the tragedy which ends with Lucifer in the pit of Dis. But there is, throughout many centuries of human history, as Dante sees it, the hardly less poignant tragedy that ends in the grey light of his Limbo. This, as it seems to me, is what Dante is trying to tell us in the haunting lines that tell the daring and the death of Ulysses. Ulysses stands for all that is most splendid and aspiring in Hellenic thought and achievement. He is humanity in the utmost reaches of a purely natural effort. He is the humanity that “through a hundred thousand perils has reached the West,” and pushes on to the “experience of the unpeopled world behind the Sun.” He is the humanity that has “considered its origin,” that knows it was “not formed to live like brutes, but to follow virtue and knowledge.” But, alas, he is the humanity that has nothing to make “wings for the foolish flight” but the oars of natural endowments. And so when Ulysses at long last catches a glimpse of the Mountain, dim in the distance, but higher than anything he had seen before—that is to say when unredeemed humanity dares to deal unbidden with the things of Faith—the sudden joy is turned to grief. For from the Mount of Purgatory there comes into the face of Ulysses that

gust of the Divine Will that turns about his boat four times until it sinks and is covered by the inexorable waves. *Infin che il mar fu sopra noi richiuso*, says Dante in one of the heaviest and most poignant lines in literature. For all the solemn splendor of the Limbo described in Canto IV of the *Inferno*, Dante obviously feels acutely the tragedy of all that part of human history that issues into nothing but a natural beatitude, when with but one breath of the breeze of the Redemption the snows could be thawed and the flowers of supernatural life spring up. You can feel this tragedy in the parting with Virgil at the very gate of the Earthly Paradise. You can feel too the sense of tragedy that keeps breaking through the tremendous resignation of Dante as he discusses, in the nineteenth canto of the *Paradiso*, the mystery of Predestination:

A man is born upon the bank of Indus and there is none to tell of Christ,
nor none to read, nor none to write;

And all his volition and his deeds are good, so far as human reason
seeth, sinless in life or in discourse.

He dieth unbaptized, and without Faith; where is that Justice which
condemneth him? Where is his fault, in that he does not believe?

It is in answer to this question that the Divine Eagle makes reply:

In the Eternal Justice such sight as your world doth receive, like the
eye in the ocean, is absorbed;

For albeit it can see the bottom by the shore, in the open sea it seeth
not, and none the less 'tis there, but the depth it hath concealeth
it . . .

Now who art thou who wouldst sit upon the seat to judge at a thousand
miles away with the short sight that carries but a span? (*Par.*, xix,
58 ff.).

It is important to a proper understanding of this tragic interpretation of history to realize that Dante never committed himself to that Manichæan view of human nature which is fatal to a philosophy of history. There is with Dante not even the most tenuous appearance of any Puritan conception of a radical corruption due to the Fall. Man, to Dante, both before and after the Fall is a *compositum* not a *mixtura*; he is not partly angelic and partly beastly; he is wholly human, but tangential to these

other natures. He is no more a fallen angel than he is an evolving brute. There are, as Dante says, some specimens of the human species which are all but indistinguishable from the best of the beasts, as there are other specimens that seem all but angelic. This fact does but add to the color scheme of history. It gives to the stream of history a wider channel. Nevertheless, all that the Fall means in history is that the sons of Adam ceased to share in the enjoyment of Eden and the possession of those supernatural graces and preternatural favors which at first marked the will and intelligence of Adam. Unredeemed humanity, therefore, easily falls into sin; and so the path of Progress is strewn with the wrecks of Pride, Envy and Anger. What Dante calls generically Covetousness (*Cupidigia*) is stamped, like a bar sinister, across the otherwise proud emblazonment of human achievement. His repeated invectives against Florence may be read in this sense that Florence is but a specific instance of humanity in its progress being halted by Lust, Hate and Greed. His passionate prophesies of the *Veltro* and the *Cinque Cento Diece e Cinque* are merely poetic expressions of his conviction that because of the Fall humanity, in the concrete, demands not merely the leadership of an inner light of Reason and Revelation, but a dual dictatorship of social and ecclesiastical control. The two ends, natural and supernatural, to which Divine Providence destines mankind are, in the ages of silver, bronze, iron and baked clay, in danger of frustration unless society submits to the bit and bridle of coercive authority. History after the Fall must move towards some kind of ecumenical Imperium, just as the Mystical Body of Christ calls for some kind of visible Ecclesia. Dante does not say that the State and Church are merely remedies for the Fall—since their primary purpose is to further temporal and eternal peace even for the saints—but he does admit that the fact of the Fall explains the need for coercive authority in both the Pope and the Monarch.

IV

Progress, Providence, Freedom and the Fall—these then are the radical conceptions in Dante's philosophy of history, as revealed in scattered hints in his various works. It need not, therefore,

surprise us if we find in the *Commedia* itself a philosophy of history set to music. It has in fact often enough been pointed out that Dante in his journeyings through Hell, Purgatory and Heaven is a symbol of humanity as a whole, just as Virgil is a symbol of human culture anterior to the Incarnation, Beatrice a symbol of culture subsequent to, and elevated by the Redemption, Matilda, a symbol of the brief history of humanity, that, in medieval reckoning, lasted for the six hours between Adam's creation and his Fall, and Bernard the symbol of the mystical possibilities of human aspiration and intuition when lifted beyond even the intimations and experience of ordinary Revelation.

Dante, in the *selva oscura*, is humanity as humanity in Adam issued from the "luminous air" of Eden into the dark labyrinth of a world of work and woe. The Sun peering above the Hill is such a vision of Truth and Goodness, of Liberty and Peace, as throughout all history is ever revealed to those eyes that are lifted up to the hills whence help comes. The three Beasts—the Leopard, the Lion and the She-wolf—are the forces of Lust, Hate and Greed which throughout all history work counter to genuine Progress, counter that is to humanity's universal striving for Liberty and Peace, and counter therefore to that still more ultimate goal of supernatural order which is not the end men set themselves in history, but the destination to which the Redemption has recalled them.

The meaning of history, therefore, as Dante reveals it in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* may be stated thus. Dante sees the whole of mankind moving forward like an army deployed. The line is here and there pushed back in such disasters as are symbolized in all the degradations revealed in the *Inferno*. Yet there are ever victorious salients; humanity in part keeps marching onward to objectives of Truth and Virtue, to those conquests of Intelligence and Will which lead to the very gate of the Terrestrial Paradise. In the *Purgatorio* humanity guided by the voice and choice of unfettered Reason continues to scale the heights of human achievement until are reached the very limits of humanly attainable light, liberty and love. Virgil's parting words to Dante in Canto xxvii

thus represent an ideal consummation of the history of a struggling, but as yet unredeemed, humanity:

Son [*says Virgil*], the temporal fire and the eternal hast thou seen, and art come to a place where I, of myself, discern no further.

Here have I brought thee with wit and with art; now take thy inclination as a guide; thou art out from the narrows, thou hast scaled the heights.

Behold there the Sun that shineth on thy brow, behold the tender grass, the flowers and the shrubs, which the ground here of itself alone brings forth.

While the glad fair eyes are coming, which weeping made me come to thee, thou canst sit thee down and canst go among them.

Wait no more upon my word or other bidding. Free, upright and whole is thy will, and 'twere a fault not to act according to its prompting.

Wherefore I do crown thee and mitre thee above thyself (*Purg.*, xvii, 127 ff.).

Had Dante ended his Epic of Humanity here, it would have been a *Humana Commedia* which might well have been compared, as I have already hinted, with the philosophy of history as expounded by Condorcet, Kant and Hegel. Happily, as Dante sees it, the history of humanity is not merely a human epic but a Divine Comedy. The Mystical Procession described in the concluding cantos of the *Purgatorio* symbolizes Dante's belief that the Peace in Freedom which humanity is ever striving to attain is but an earnest of eternal Peace—*per arra a lui d'Eterna Pace* (*Purg.*, xxviii, 93). Dante ends the *Purgatorio* with a declaration of Christian Optimism. Because of the vision of the Gryphon and the Chariot, because, that is, of the Incarnation and Redemption, humanity is "born again, even as new trees renewed with new foliage, pure and disposed to soar among the stars—"

rifatto sì, come piante novelle
rinnovellate di novella fronda,
puro e disposto a salire alle stelle (*Purg.*, xxxiii, 143).

The *Paradiso*, from the point of view of a philosophy of history, is the perspective of humanity's spiritual progress which has been made possible by the Incarnation. It is the hypothetical history of a humanity that has succeeded not merely in "issuing forth from the deep night"—*uscendo fuor della profonda notte* (*Purg.*, i,

43); but which has "been led to love the Good beyond which is nought that may be aspired"—

ad amar lo bene
di là dal qual non è a che s'aspiri (*Purg.*, xxxi, 23).

It is this humanity—the Church Triumphant—that will, in Eternity, be able to say of the *Magisterium* and *Regimen* of the Church what Dante says in his farewell words, of Beatrice:

Thou hast drawn me from a slave to Liberty, by all those paths, by all those ways, by which thou hadst power so to do.
So did I pray; and she, so distant as she seemed, smiled and looked on me, then turned her to the Eternal Fountain (*Par.*, xxxi, 85 ff.).

Beyond this theological perspective in Dante's vision of human history there is only the ultimate mystical height. The moment Beatrice has fulfilled her task, Dante finds St. Bernard at his side, "the Holy Elder" who is the symbol of mystical intuition. It is to humanity, in the person of Dante, that Bernard says:

... That thou mayst consummate thy journey perfectly—whereto prayer and holy love dispatched me—
Fly with thine eyes throughout this Garden; for gazing on it will equip thy glance better to mount through the Divine Ray;
And the Queen of Heaven for whom I am all burning with love, will grant us every grace, because I am her faithful Bernard (*Par.*, xxxi, 94).

The remaining cantos of the *Paradiso* detail Dante's vision of the *Ecclesia Triumphans*. It is a vision that may not be excluded from the Catholic philosophy of history. Not, of course, that it is a consummation deducible from the record of facts. It is rather a hope derivable from the revelations of our Faith. Nevertheless history without this last act would be a drama of despair.

Within this Kingdom's amplitude no chance point may have place, no more than sadness may, nor thirst, nor hunger;
Because established by Eternal Law is whatsoever thou seest, so that the correspondence is exact between the ring and the finger.
Wherefore this swift-spiced folk to the True Life is here, not without cause, more or less excellent in mutual Order.
The King through whom this Realm resteth in so great Love and in so great Delight that never will hath daring for aught more,

As He createth all minds in His own glad sight, doth at His pleasure
with grace endow them diversely; and here let the effect suffice
(*Par.*, xxxii, 52 ff.).

The last canto of the *Paradiso* opens, as every one knows, with the sublime prayer of Bernard to the Mother of God in behalf of Humanity, in the person of Dante. Mary, who by her *Fiat* put humanity and therefore human history on the first rung of Jacob's Ladder, is here waiting at the ladder's top. And so Bernard thus pleads to her for Dante:

Now he who from the deepest pool of the universe even to here hath seen
the spirit lives, one after one,
Imploresth thee, of grace, for so much power as to be able to uplift his
eyes more high towards the Final Bliss,
And I, who never burned for my own Vision more than I do for his,
proffer thee all my prayers and pray they be not scant,
That thou do scatter for him every cloud of his mortality with prayers
of thine, so that the Joy Supreme may be unfolded to him;
And further do I pray thee, Queen, who can'st do all thou wilt, that
thou keep sound for him, after so great a Vision, his affections . . .
And I (says Dante) who to the Goal of all my longings was drawing
nigh, even as was meet, the ardor of the yearnings quenched within
me . . .
Thenceforward was my Vision mightier than our discourse, which faileth
at such Sight; and faileth memory at so great assault . . .
Within its Depth I saw ingatherèd, bound by Love in one volume, the
scattered leaves of all the universe . . .
The Universal Form of all this knot, I think that I beheld, because, more
largely, as I do speak of it, I feel that I rejoice. . . .
O but how scant the utterance, and how faint to my conceit! and it, to
what I saw, is such that it sufficeth not to call it little. . . .
To the high fantasy here power failed; but already my desire and my
will were rolled—even as a wheel that turneth steadily—by the Love
that moves the sun and all the stars.

And so, the absolutely ultimate meaning of history, as Dante sees it, is this:—History is the movement of humanity towards Peace, not merely towards the temporal peace of an ordered Church and State with Grace and Law; but onwards and upwards to an Eternal Peace in the ordered Will of God. His final formula is his finest phrase: Within God's Will man's Peace reposes—*E'n la Sua Volontade è nostra Pace*.

GERALD GROVELAND WALSH.

ABBÉ BANDOL IN AMERICA

The name of the Abbé Seraphin Bandol, Récollect, chaplain of the first French legation in the United States, is quite well known to students of Catholic Church history; yet the Abbé himself has remained a more or less mysterious character. Two sermons which he delivered before the members of Congress and other governmental and military officials have been referred to by such writers as John Gilmary Shea, Martin I. J. Griffin and Peter Guilday. The rest of his career in America has remained obscure. A dearth of documentary evidence is responsible for this neglect. Perusal of Library of Congress transcripts and photostats of French and Spanish official documents has recently brought to light new facts concerning him. With the aid of these documents it is now possible to build up a more coherent account of the Abbé's American adventure than has yet appeared. A chronological summary of the pertinent facts which can be ascertained concerning Father Bandol is offered here, not as the product of finished research, but as a guide for a complete study.

The account begins, not in the accepted fashion, with the date of the Abbé's birth, but with the first mention of him as a chaplain of D'Estaing's fleet, about to sail for America. It ends indefinitely in 1785. The writer so far has been unable to collect any information concerning the training of the Abbé or the conclusion of his mission in the United States. It may be possible that certain French archives contain this information.¹

France recognized the independence of the United States and allied herself with the infant Republic on 6 February 1778. Immediately, secret preparations for the inevitable war with Great Britain were made. One of the first actions of the Government of Louis XVI was the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, Conrad Alexandre Gerard, and the preparation

¹ Since Bandol was a navy chaplain, the Archives du Ministère de la Marine for the period prior to 1870, deposited in the Archives Nationales, Paris, may contain further details concerning him than those to be found in the Library of Congress transcripts and photostats, utilized in these pages.

of a squadron of war vessels to conduct the new Minister to his post. These vessels, also destined to co-operate with American military manoeuvres, were under the command of the Comte d'Estaing. They sailed from Toulon, 13 April 1778, under sealed orders; Minister Gerard was aboard D'Estaing's ship travelling under the name "De Munster." He was accompanied by Silas Deane, who was then returning from his mission to Paris as commissioner there of the Continental Congress. Vice Admiral D'Estaing had chosen as his flagship the *Languedoc*, and before sailing had seen to the drawing up of a *Liste des Officiers* containing the roster of the squadron's officers and their respective shares in any prizes which might be made in the course of the campaign. This document,² dated 28 March 1778, contains the first mention of Abbé Bandol. In the list of officers on the flagship, under the heading *Auxiliaires*, appears the item:

Aumonier: Le Père Bandol . . . 1.

A note beside this item reads: "Parti pour philadie le 6. Jillet 1778."³ The accuracy of this last date may be questioned, since, as will appear later, it was not until 9 July that the first disembarkation from D'Estaing's fleet took place. Bandol appears, therefore, as the chaplain of D'Estaing's flagship, and in this capacity he certainly officiated at the religious ceremony which took place on that ship, 20 May 1778, to celebrate the first formal declaration of war against Great Britain. In the *Journal de campagne du Languedoc* we read:

May 1778. Mercredi 20.—Continuation de beau tems, le vent à l'E. N. E. frais, l'escadre faisant route à l'Ouest toutes voiles dehors. A 5 heures l'on a fait signal à la *Chimere* ainsi qu'à l'*Engageante* de venir passer à poupe, et le général a ordonné aux deux capitaines de ces frégattes de chasser tous les jours le premier au vent et le second sous le vent de l'escadre à une lieue et demi de distance, de visiter et prendre tout bâtiment portant

² *Liste des officiers de la Marine embarqués sur l'escadre du Roy aux ordres de Mr le Comte d'Estaing Vice Amiral de France, armée à Toulon au mois d'Avril 1778, avec l'état du nombre de parts de prises qui revient à chacun suivant l'ordonnance des prises du 28 mars 1778.*

³ Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, Photostats, France, Archives Nationales, Marine B⁴ 141 : 137.

pavillon anglois, la guerre étant déclarée, de les signaler afin de ne pas se compromettre s'ils étoient forts, d'avoir enfin attention d'être ralliés tous les soirs et de se remettre tous les matins à leur poste. Le général a voulu apprendre dans la matinée à toute l'escadre notre destination avec la déclaration de guerre, et à 9 heures il y a eu signal à tous les capitaines d'ouvrir leurs paquets. Le général a fait dire une messe solennelle pour commencer par demander à Dieu de nous faire remporter la victoire sur nos ennemis. M^r le C^{te} d'Estaing y a assisté en grand uniforme ainsi que tous les officiers, de même que M^r Gerard dont le titre de ministre plénipotentiaire de S[a] M[ajesté] T[rès] C[hretienne] auprès du Congrès et Consul général de France en Amérique a pour lors été déclaré. Nous avons pavoisé le vaisseau, hissé le pavillon de poupe et de commandement, à dix heures, pendant la messe qui a été précédée de la bénédiction d'un faisceau d'armes. A onze heures M^r le C^{te} d'Estaing a fait lui même lecture en présence de l'Equipage du précis de la nouvelle ordonnance concernant les prises qu'on avoit imprimé la veille et dont on a affiché des exemplaires au pied des mats. L'equipage a répondu à cette lecture par des cris de vive le roi.⁴

D'Estaing's squadron had left the straits of Gibraltar 17 May with its final destination, as revealed in the secret instructions to the captains of the several vessels, as Boston.⁵ The crossing was a long one, exactly seven weeks from Gibraltar to the American coast. During that time many communications passed between Minister Gerard and the Comte d'Estaing. Most of these dealt with the extent of the co-operation to be effected between French and American forces once the destination of the squadron had been reached. On 8 June 1778, however, Gerard submitted to the Vice Admiral the following

Notte

Le Roi ayant jugé indispensable que son Ministre près des Etats-unis eut l'Exercice de Sa Religion, et la précipitation du départ du Sousigné n'ayant pas permis de faire choix d'un aumonier, il a été autorisé à en demander un au Commandant de l'Escadre.⁶ Je le prie en conséquence de

⁴ Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique* . . . (Paris, 5 vols., 1886-92), III, 233.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁶ During the preceding March Gerard had requested instructions on several doubtful points concerning his American mission. One of his requests was as follows: "6° un aumonier étant indispensable en amerique, le S^r Gerard demande d'être autorisé à en faire choix et il prie de fixer le traitement qui

vouloir bien désigner celui qu'il jugera propre à remplir ces fonctions, et de donner les ordres nécessaires afin qu'il débarque en même tems que le sousigné.

a Bord du Languedoc ce 8 Juin 1778.

Gerard.⁷

There is no doubt that D'Estaing complied with this request by the appointment of the Abbé Bandol to accompany Gerard to Philadelphia,⁸ but in the correspondence between the two men that has been preserved, there is no indication of the action taken by D'Estaing. Bandol is not mentioned by name until 18 July 1778. There is every reason to suppose, however, that the chaplain of the legation accompanied Gerard when he left the squadron and repaired to Philadelphia.⁹ D'Estaing's *Journal*¹⁰ of his campaign in America contains the following brief entries concerning the debarkation of M. Gerard:

Lundi 6. Juillet 1778.

Depuis hier 7 heures du soir on a vû la terre; elle a paru très basse et on ne l'a pas approchée de plus de 5. a 6 lieues. . . .¹¹

Jeudi 9.¹² Juillet 1778

A 7 heures et demi du matin M. Gerard Ministre Plenipotentiaire de France auprès des Etats Unis de l'Amérique a passé sur la Chimere pour

lui sera accordé soit pour son passage soit pour son entretien." Vergennes made the following notation opposite this request: "il est juste que le Sr Gerard ait un aumonier. La flotte pourra lui en Ceder un. il est indispensable que les Etats unis accordent L'Exercice Libre de la religion aux ministres employés pour la Service du Roi." L. C. Photostats, France, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance politique, Etats-Unis Supplément, 3: 9.

⁷ L. C. Photostats, France, Arch. Nat., Marine B⁴ 143: 7.

⁸ Cf. Gerard to Vergennes, 18 July 1778, *infra*, 140.

⁹ Martin I. J. Griffin, *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, X (1893), 55.

¹⁰ *Journal et Tactique de la Campagne de M. d'Estaing Commandant l'Escadre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale et aux Isles du Vent et dessous le Vent de l'Amérique. Depuis le lundi 6. Avril 1778, jusqu'au Mardi 7. Decembre, 1779.*

¹¹ L. C. Photostats, France, Arch. Nat., Marine B⁴ 145: 47. This statement precludes the possibility of Bandol having left for Philadelphia on this date, as the note in the *Liste des officiers* (ut supra 136) implies.

¹² Doniol, *op. cit.*, III, 195, incorrectly gives 8 July as the date of Gerard's departure from the flagship.

se rendre à Philadelphie avec les Américains qui étoient embarqués sur le Languedoc. M. Gerard a été salué de cinq cris de Vive le Roi, et de quinze coups de canon. . . .¹²

Gerard's account of his reception in the United States is to be found in his first official despatch to the French Foreign Minister, Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes. Again the Minister makes no mention of the Abbé Bandol or, for that matter, of his two secretaries and the group of servants who had accompanied him from France. He wrote:

à Philadelphie le 15 Juillet 1778.

Monseigneur

Après un passage de 91 jours, je Suis enfin arrivé ici dimanche 12 du Courant.

La Frégate la Chimere que Monsieur le Comte d'Estaing avoit bien voulu destiner pour me mener n'ayant pas pu passer les chevaux de frises, s'est arrêté à Chester. Le Congrès informé de mon arrivée, m'envoya le dimanche matin une députation de quatre membres à la tête desquelles étoit Monsieur hancock. Je les reçus à bord de la frégate et Monsieur de St Cesaire¹³ leur rendit les mêmes honneurs que Monsieur le Comte d'Estaing lui avoit prescrit pour moy: l'un des Députés me fit un discours en françois rempli d'impressions d'admiration et de reconnaissance pour le Roy. Je tâchai d'y répondre de manière à confirmer les impressions que la générosité de Sa Majesté devoit naturellement produire.

Je montai ensuite dans le carosse de Monsieur hancock on a fait plusieurs décharges d'artillerie à mon arrivée à Philadelphie, les troupes de la Garnison étoient rangées en differens corps dans la plus belle rue de la ville où je passai pour aller descendre chez le Général Arnold Gouverneur de la Ville, où l'on m'a prié de prendre un logement, en attendant qu'on put me procurer une maison logeable dans une ville dévastée par l'Ennemi et denuée de tout. J'occupe la chambre à coucher du General howe.¹⁴

It is of course possible that the chaplain of the legation may have preceded or followed the Minister to Philadelphia,¹⁵ but one fact

¹² L. C. Photostats, France, Arch. Nat., Marine B⁴ 145: 50.

¹³ The captain of the *Chimere*.

¹⁴ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 4: 88.

¹⁵ In a letter to his wife (14 July 1778), Elias Boudinot, member of Congress from New Jersey, describes the reception accorded to Gerard at Chester. He states that the Committee had provided "four Coaches with four Horses" to conduct "Le Sieur Gerard, Mr. Deane etc. etc." to Philadelphia. Evidently Gerard's whole entourage accompanied him on this occasion. If so, the Abbé

is certain: he left D'Estaing's fleet in company with Gerard, since the *Chimere* was the only ship detached for the purpose of landing passengers. The other vessels of the fleet continued on to New England waters, where M. de St. Cesaire and the *Chimere* later joined them.¹⁷

Six days after Gerard's arrival in Philadelphia he despatched to M. de Vergennes a private letter in which the name of the Abbé Bandol reappears:

A Philadelphie le 18 Juillet 1778.

Monseigneur

Je prens la liberté de vous adresser Sous cachet volant deux lettres par lesquelles j'annonce a M^{sr} de Sartine¹⁸ le choix que M. le C^{te} d'Estaing a fait d'un officier de terre pour Suivre les operations militaires des Etats-Unis, ainsi que d'un aumonier pour être attaché à la légation du Roi.¹⁹

Ce dernier arrangement estoit d'autant plus indispensable qu'un de nos capitaines americaines qui est de Philadelphie, m'assuroit qu'il n'y avoit dans cette ville qu'un Seul pretre²⁰ qui donnoit Ses Soins à 10. ou 12000. Catholiques repandus en Pennsylvanie et Maryland. Le Père Bandole [*sic*] est d'un esprit Sage et de bonnes moeurs; c'est un temoignage que lui rendent tous les officiers de l'Escadre qui le connaissent.

Je presume, Monseigneur, que vous trouverez bon que je pourvoye à la Subsistance et à l'entretien tant de M. Chouin²¹ que de ce religieux jusqu'à ce que vous ayez bien voulu me faire connaitre les instructions du Roi Sur le traitement qu'il plaire à Sa Majesté de leur accorder. Je prendrai la liberté de vous exposer mon Sentiment à ce Sujet Si vous le desirés, lorsque j'aurai reconnu le local et le prix de toutes choses.

Je dois avoir l'honneur de vous rendre compte que M. le C^{te} d'Estaing ayant absolument voulu que l'aumonier qu'il me cede, emportât Sa chapelle, j'ai visé la decharge qu'il m'a donnée. J'en informe également M^{sr} de Sartine, afin que vous puissiez vous entendre à ce Sujet avec ce Ministre si vous le jugés à propos. . . .²²

Bandol was probably of the number. Cf. Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 6 vols., 1921-33), III, 329-330.

¹⁷ Doniol, *op. cit.*, III, n. 195.

¹⁸ Minister of Marine in Louis XVI's cabinet.

¹⁹ This letter has not been found.

²⁰ This information was inexact, as Gerard soon discovered.

²¹ The military attaché appointed by D'Estaing.

²² L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 4: 113. An English translation of parts of this letter, erroneously dated "16 July" is

To this mundane account of the provision made for Father Bandol's maintenance must be added a line from Gerard's expense account covering the months from 1 July to 31 December 1778:

Gratification à l'aumônier. . . . 1.200 [livres]²³

By August 1778, Gerard had discovered that Philadelphia was better supplied with facilities for Catholic worship than he had at first supposed. He wrote to the Comte d'Estaing:

A Philadelphie le 3. aout. 1778.

Monsieur

Le besoin d'aumonier n'étant pas tel ici qu'on me l'avoit rapporté, je crois devoir vous offrir la restitution du pret que vous avés bien voulu me faire du S. Bandole. [sic] C'est à regret que je le quitterai, mais mon agrement personnel doit ceder aux besoins des vaisseaux du Roi dans le cours des operations qui peuvent lui rester à remplir. . . .²⁴

The French archives are silent upon the reply which the Vice Admiral submitted to Minister Gerard,²⁵ but we may suppose that he urged the envoy to indulge his personal liking for the Abbé by retaining him as chaplain of the legation. At any rate, Father Bandol remained in Philadelphia for many years thereafter, serving under Gerard and his two successors, La Luzerne and Barbé de Marbois.

John Gilmary Shea, Martin I. J. Griffin and Peter Guilday have in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XXXI (1920), 218.

²³ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 10: 332. Cf. also Wladimir d'Ormesson, *La Première mission officielle de la France aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1924), 214. The sum paid to Bandol would amount to approximately \$240. in current exchange. Gerard valued it at 54.30 English pounds or 271.50 Pennsylvania pounds.

²⁴ L. C. Photostats, France, Arch. Nat., Marine B⁴ 143: 181; and Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis Sup't., 1: 38. The latter is Gerard's draft, and is dated 31 August 1778. There were stationed in Philadelphia at this time two Catholic priests, Fathers Molyneux and Farmer. The former was the pastor of St. Mary's and resided permanently in the capital city, while the latter, making his headquarters in Philadelphia, continued, during the period of the Revolution, his missionary work in New Jersey. Cf. Griffin, *loc. cit.*, XVIII (1901), 93; XXII (1905), 25.

²⁵ The archives of the French Legation in the United States were destroyed by fire in the early part of the nineteenth century.

all included in their well-known works mention of the *Te Deum* chanted in Philadelphia on the third anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1779.²⁶ Gerard's official description of the celebration is to be found in his despatch to Vergennes, dated 6 July 1779:

Ayant cru qu'il étoit conforme aux sentimens du Roi que je donnasse une marque publique de Joye à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de la déclaration de l'Independance que toute l'Amérique celebre avec pompe, je n'ai pas trouvé de moyen mieux assorti aux circonstances dans lesquelles une partie du Peuple de Philadelphie manque de pain, que de faire chanter un *Te Deum* dans la grande Chapelle Catholique qu'on m'a prêté à cet effet. Cette solennité a eu lieu hier. Le Congrès, le Conseil, le Conseil exécutif, les Magistrats et les Chefs militaires y ont assisté avec les principaux Citoyens. On a paru généralement très satisfait de cette cérémonie. C'est le premier *Te Deum* qui ait jamais été chanté dans les treize Etats et on croit que cet acte d'éclat produira un bon effet sur les Catholiques dont un assés grand nombre sont suspectés de n'être pas bien fortement attachés à la cause Américaine. . . .

L'Aumônier qui est avec moi a prononcé Dimanche avant le *Te Deum* un petit discours²⁷ qui a été généralement applaudi et que le Congrès a demandé pour le faire traduire et publier. . . .²⁸

In the early fall of 1779 Conrad Alexandre Gerard was replaced as French Minister to the United States by the Chevalier de La Luzerne. The Abbé Bandol, however, remained at his post as chaplain of the legation in Philadelphia. His activities during the period between July 1779 and April 1780 seemingly called forth no comment on the part of either of the heads of mission under whom he served.

On 28 April 1780, Don Juan de Miralles, unaccredited Spanish

²⁶ John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll*. . . (New York, 1888), 171-177; Griffin, *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, VI (1889), 56-59, X (1893), 55-56, XIV (1897), 6-8, XVII (1900), 60-63; Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*. . . (New York, 1922), 106.

²⁷ For facsimiles of Gerard's invitation to the *Te Deum* and of the Abbé's sermon, as well as contemporary English translations, cf. Shea, *op. cit.*, 171-177. Griffin also prints in several places an identical translation of the sermon, cf. *loc. cit.*, VI (1889), 57-59, XIV (1897), 6-8, XVII (1900), 60-63, XXIV (1907), 316-318. Cf. also Guilday, *op. cit.*, 107-108.

²⁸ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 9: 6.

agent to the United States, died suddenly at Morristown, N. J. La Luzerne reported the event to the Comte de Vergennes in his despatch of 2 May 1780.²⁹ He referred him for details to an enclosed missive addressed to the Comte de Montmorin, French Ambassador to Spain. He began the letter to Montmorin as follows:

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur.

A Philadelphie le 1^{er} May 1780.

J'ai fait vers le milieu du mois passé un voyage à l'armée de Washington, et le jour même de mon arrivée M. de Miralles [*sic*]³⁰ avec qui je m'y étois rendu, est tombé si dangereusement malade que j'ai cru devoir l'engager à faire son testament, et à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour que ses papiers ne pussent passer dans les mains étrangères; j'ai assuré cet objet de la manière qui m'a paru plus convenable aux intérêts de sa Cour et au Secret des affaires, en l'engageant à insérer dans son testament que toute sa Correspondance publique resteroit entre les mains de Donfrancisco son Secrétaire.³¹ J'ai quitté le quartier général le laissant dans l'état le plus désespéré, et je viens de recevoir un courrier du Général Washington qui m'apprend qu'il est mort peu de jours après mon départ. Son Secrétaire étant actuellement absent je me suis borné en conformité de son testament à faire apposer mon Scel Sur Ses Papiers Concurement avec son Exécuteur testamentaire; . . .³²

Shea is authority for the statement that Miralles' secretary,

. . . who had remained at Philadelphia, learning this [*Miralles' illness*], set out for the camp with Father Seraphin Bandol. After receiving the last sacraments with great piety and contrition from the hands of the Recollect priest, Señor Miralles expired in the afternoon of April 28, 1780. He was buried the next day in the common burying-ground near the church at Morristown, followed to the grave by General Washington, several of the general officers and members of Congress walking as chief mourners, four artillery officers bearing the coffin, and six acting as pall-bearers. The French chaplain recited the Catholic burial service at the grave and blessed it.³³

Martin I. J. Griffin takes exception to this statement and writes that there is no record of Bandol having been at Morristown.³⁴ In

²⁹ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 12: 13.

³⁰ La Luzerne consistently misspelled Miralles' name, as Gerard did Bandol's.

³¹ Don Francisco Rendon.

³² L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 12: 6.

³³ *Op. cit.*, 178.

³⁴ Griffin, *loc. cit.*, XXVIII (1911), 215-216. Further details concerning the death of Miralles will be found in VI (1899), 63-67.

this case, Shea is correct and Griffin is in error. In the Spanish archives there exist various documents concerning Miralles' demise. Three of them are of particular value to the present esquisse. Two of the three are identical letters from Francisco Rendon, Miralles' secretary, one addressed to Diego Josef Navarro, Captain-General of Cuba,³⁵ the other to Josef de Galvez, Minister of the Indies.³⁶ The first is dated 5 May, the second 8 May 1780. The letter to Navarro enclosed a Spanish translation of a note by "Dr. Cocharn"³⁷ concerning the nature of Don Miralles' illness.³⁸ An identical note signed "Dr Cocharen" was enclosed in the letter to Galvez.³⁹ Although interesting in itself, this note is of no value to the present study. The last of the three pertinent documents, enclosed in Galvez' letter from Rendon, has no duplicate in the Archivo General de Indias. It is the Abbé Bandol's certificate of Miralles' death and burial, attested by La Luzerne, and bearing the autograph signatures of both men. Rendon's letter to Galvez⁴⁰ is a long and detailed account of all the circumstances attending Miralles' death, and bears out in every point the brief description given by Shea.⁴¹ Miralles' secretary tells of the trip to Washington's headquarters made by La Luzerne and Miralles, of the latter's illness, and of La Luzerne's return to Philadelphia with the advice that Rendon repair immediately to Morristown, since Miralles' attack was most serious

y que ultimamente cada instante Se agravava insuperable^{te}, de Suerté que no dava esperansas de vida. que en esta atencion pasase sin perdida

³⁵ L. C. Transcripts, Spain, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Legajo 1281: 76.

³⁶ L. C. Photostats, Spain, Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid. Estado; Legajo 3884 bis, Expediente 6, Document 15.

³⁷ Dr. John Cochran, chief physician and surgeon of the Continental Army.

³⁸ L. C. Transcripts, Spain, Arch. Indias, Pap. de Cuba, Leg. 1281: 76a.

³⁹ L. C. Photostats, Spain, Arch. Nac., Est., Leg. 3884 bis, Expediente 6, Doc. 16.

⁴⁰ The letter to Galvez is preferred here because it exists at the Library of Congress in a photographic reproduction, while that to Navarro is a poor transcript.

⁴¹ *Ut supra*, 143. As authority for his account, Shea gives the same letter used here, and "Thacher, 'Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War,' Hartford, 1854, pp. 162, 193."

de tiempo á aquel destino para estar á presencia de lo que pudiese Sobvenir, cuya orden observé con la mayor prestesa que me fué posible, verificando mi salida de esta, el dia Siguiente 24, llevandome conmigo al Capellan del Ministro de Francia para que en el caso de Su malogro Tuviese el consuelo del Medico del Alma como en efecto llenó Su obxepto. . . .⁴²

At Morristown all that was possible was done to save Miralles' life, but, continued Rendon, all attempts were unsuccessful,

y decayendo por instantes en el mas deplorable estado espiró el dia 28. del mismo a las 3½ de la Tarde, habiendo antes logrado la felicidad de confesarse y recibir los Santos Sacramentos con todo conocimiento y Contricion como lo acredita la Certifica^{on} hecha por el dho Capellan que me Tomo la libertad de incluir con esta autorizada por dho Ministro de Francia. . . .⁴³

Funeral arrangements were made at once, and Rendon describes them at length, prefacing his remarks with the following explanation:

En la misma hora de su muerte destinó el dho General Washington al coronel Halminton y al Mayor Galvan⁴⁴ para la disposicion del entierro ordenandoles que nada hiciesen sin mi consentimiento y q^e p^{re}cisam^{te} se arreglasen a la Intruccion que lo les diese para q^e Segun mi deseo lo verificasen mediante a que las ceremonias de nuestro uso en dho cerio acto Son muy distintas a las que usan aqui.

En efecto con acuerdo del Capellan de dho Ministro de Francia les di la instruccion para que lo verificasen quienes llenaron aquel obxepto Sin que Faltase lo mas leve arreglado al methode de q^e les havia informado. . . .⁴⁵

Rendon continues with a description of the funeral procession to the place of burial,

(citio que Benedixo el predho Cappⁿ del Ministro de Francia á causa que en aquel Paraxe no havia Iglesia de Catholicos). . . .⁴⁶

The final document of these three extracted from the Spanish

⁴² L. C. Photostats, Spain, Arch. Nac., Est., Leg. 3884 bis, Expediente 6, Doc. 15: 202-203.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, folio 204-205.

⁴⁴ Colonel Alexander Hamilton, aide-de-camp to General Washington, and Major William Galvan, Inspector of the Army.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, folios 207-208.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, folio 209.

archives is the most important for present purposes. Not only does it settle definitely the fact of Bandol's presence at Morristown and the nature of his activities there, but it also furnishes us the correct spelling of his name, and offers exact proof of his religious connection. The document in full is herewith transcribed:

L'un mil Sept cent quatre vingt, le vingt huit du mois d'avril est décédé à trois heures après midi Dom Juan de Miralez âgé de soixante cinq ans, muni de tous les Sacremens, et a été inhumé le lendemain à trois après midi dans le Cimetière de cette Ville, ou nous L'avons conduit avec les Cérémonies ordinaires, par moi Pretre Religieux Recollect, Aumonier de Son Excellence Monsieur le Chevalier de la Luzerne Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté très Chrétienne auprès des États unis de L'Amérique Septentrionale; en présence des témoins sousignés. Messieurs francisco Rendon, Sécértaire du deffunt. Guillaume Galvan, Ecuyer, Sieur de lérié Capitaine d'Infanterie au Service de France, Major au Service des États unis &c Sous-inspecteur de l'armée; Etienne Nicolas Marie Beehet de Rochefontaine, Ecuyer, Capitaine Ingénieur au service des États unis.

Fait au Quartier Général à Morristown dans L'État du Newjersey, le vingt neuf avril mil Sept cent quatre vingt.

[Signed] fr. Seraphin bandol.

Nous César Anne de la Luzerne, Chevalier de l'ordre de S^t Jean de Jerusalem, Colonel d'Infanterie, Ministre Plenipotentiaire de S. M. T. Ch. auprès des Etats unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, certifions que M^r l'Abbé Seraphin Bandol qui a signé l'extrait mortuaire ci dessus et de l'autre part est Aumonier de la Légation Française à Philadelphie et que tout ce qu'il signe en cette qualité est valable tant en justice que hors de justice. En foi de quoi Nous avons signé ces présentes de Notre main et Nous y avons fait aposer le cachet de Nos armes. Fait en Notre hotel à Philadelphie le cinq Mai, mil sept cent quatre vingt./.

[Seal]

[Signed] Chev de la luzerne⁴⁷

On one point various writers are largely in agreement. That is the fact of a requiem Mass being sung for the repose of the soul of Miralles under the auspices of the French Legation.⁴⁸ La Luzerne

⁴⁷ L. C. Photostats, Spain, Arch. Nac., Est., Leg. 3884 bis, Expediente 6, Doc. 17: 220-221.

⁴⁸ Shea, *op. cit.*, 178; Griffin, *loc. cit.*, VI (1889), 67-70, X (1893), 56, XXIV (1907), 220; Guilday, *op. cit.*, 108. Shea erroneously gives the date of the requiem Mass as 4 May 1780.

issued invitations to the ceremony, to take place 8 May 1780 in old St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia. But the French Minister gives no account of the event in his official despatches to his court. The explanation of this seeming neglect is to be found in Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*.⁴⁹ Burnett explains that the requiem was an *unofficial* mark of respect to a gentleman without official standing in Philadelphia. Burnett's doubt as to whether the service took place on the eighth or ninth May (though he inclines to believe, and correctly, that it was the eighth), is removed by Griffin's explanations.⁵⁰ Undoubtedly Bandol officiated at this ceremony.

In 1781 the youthful United States witnessed an occurrence which has since been commemorated as one of the outstanding anniversaries of its national existence, the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on 19 October. La Luzerne felt it incumbent upon him, as the representative of France, to take some part in the general rejoicing which this event called forth. He accordingly made arrangements for the singing of a *Te Deum* on 3 November 1781 at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Philadelphia. Once again the Abbé Bandol delivered the sermon.⁵¹ As usual, La Luzerne's official account of the affair, transmitted to Vergennes in his letter dated 4 November 1781, is very brief. He wrote:

24 Etendants et drapeaux pris à seize Regimens de L'ennemi, et deux de Dragons ont été envoyés au Congrès et sont arrivés hier. Ils ont été déposés avec solennité. C'est le jour que j'avois choisi pour faire chanter un Tedeum en Musique dans la Chapelle Catholique. Le Congrès en corps s'y est trouvé, ainsi que le Conseil et L'assemblée de Pennsylvanie qui venoit de Se former: Les différens Departemens et un grand concours de Citoyens y ont été également présens. L'aumonier de la Légation a recité le Discours dont j'ai L'honneur de vous adresser Copie. Le soir j'ai fait illuminer mon hotel et j'ai donné une fête à differens ordres de Citoyens par qui j'avois été invité à celles qu'ils ont successivement donnés.⁵²

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, V, n. 131.

⁵⁰ *Ut supra*, note 48.

⁵¹ Identical English translations of the sermon are printed in: Shea, *op. cit.*, 198-201; Griffin, *loc. cit.*, VI (1889), 73-75; Guilday, *op. cit.*, 108-110. Further accounts of the observance are in Griffin's *Researches*, X (1893), 58-59, XVIII (1901), 164-165.

⁵² L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 19: 184.

It will be noted that La Luzerne speaks of the *Te Deum* as being sung "*hier*," that is, 3 November 1781. Attention must be called to this fact because all those who have given accounts of the celebration date it as of 4 November.⁵³ If there were any doubt on the question, it must be settled by an enclosure which La Luzerne inserted in his letter of 4 November to Vergennes. The enclosure in question is the printed French text of Bandol's sermon, preceded by the following introduction:

1781, Novembre 3. Philadelphie

Discours prononcé à l'occasion de la capitulation de Cornwallis par l'abbé Bandole, aumônier de la Légation de France.

Le Congrès des Etats Unis, L'Assemblée et le Conseil de l'Etat de Pennsylvanie les Chefs et Membres des differents Départemens ayant été invités par le Ministre de France à Se rendre dans l'Eglise catholique, M. l'Abbé Bandole, Aumonier de la Légation de S. M. T. C. étant monté en chaire, adressa à cette Auguste Assemblée le Discours Suivant, apres lequel on chanta un *Te Deum* en musique. . . .⁵⁴

The latest record that has been found of Bandol's ministry in an official capacity is contained in an enclosure attached to a despatch from Barbé de Marbois, French chargé d'affaires in the United States after the departure of Minister La Luzerne in June 1784. Marbois wrote:

25. Août 1784.

Le Service divin a été célébré le 25 de ce mois dans la maison du Ch^{er} de la luzerne Ministre de France à l'occasion de la fete de Sa Majesté T. C. . . .⁵⁵

⁵³ Shea, *op. cit.*, 198; Griffin, *loc. cit.*, VI (1889), 73; X (1893), 58; XVIII (1901), 164; Guilday, *op. cit.*, 108. This confusion arises from a perfectly understandable cause—an error in the contemporary newspaper account. Shea, who first called attention to the observance, gives as his authority "'Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser', November 27, 1781, No. 812." Griffin traced his account of this same celebration to the "*American Museum*, p. 28-9, Vol. IV, July, 1788." Guilday in turn referred to Shea, to Griffin and to the *American Museum*. All supplementary accounts probably derived originally from the item in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, which did not appear until more than three weeks after the *Te Deum* had taken place. In the state of newspaper editing of the time, a mistake in the date of a given occurrence is not to be wondered at.

⁵⁴ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 19: 179.

⁵⁵ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 28: 160.

There is every reason to suppose that Bandol, during his stay in Philadelphia, gave needed assistance to Fathers Molyneux and Farmer, members of the secular clergy in charge of the Philadelphia missions. Griffin's *Researches*⁵⁶ are authority for the statement that several records of baptisms and marriages at which Bandol officiated are to be found on the register at Old St. Joseph's or in the transcripts printed in volumes one and two of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*. Griffin likewise prints the letter of a Miss Margaret Chew, dated 23 June 1784, describing a wedding she attended at the home of the French Minister. The chaplain of the Legation was the officiating priest.⁵⁷

Probably the strongest evidence that can be found to support the contention that Bandol fulfilled other functions in Philadelphia than those connected strictly with his official position is contained in a letter of 13 March 1785 from Father Ferdinand Farmer to Dr. John Carroll. It was written in Philadelphia, and read in part as follows:

If my letters of the 22d of February are not lost, your Reverence will find that I applied for permission to say two Masses on Sundays, and also on the greater holydays, in the absence of Mr. Molyneux; for our old Chapel is generally overcrowded at the first Mass, and the French Priest or Chaplain, is leaving this city next month.⁵⁸

John Gilmary Shea has misread this letter, which he does not quote. He says that in it Father Farmer "announces that the Abbé was to sail to Europe in the next month."⁵⁹ There is no evidence to

⁵⁶ XXVIII (1911), 252-253. Griffin himself prints a transcript of a marriage entry at St. Joseph's dated 24 November 1782 which bears the Abbé Bandol's signature as witness, *ibid.*, XVIII (1901), 93-94. An English translation from the Latin of the same entry is in *Records*, II (1886-88), 306-307. This is, incidentally, the latest specific mention which the author has found of Bandol's name. The internal evidence of the documents used in the following pages, however, is, he believes, conclusive enough to warrant the assumption that the chaplain of the legation referred to in various official despatches is still the same Bandol. Were he someone else, that fact would certainly have been stated. A change in the incumbent of that position would have demanded some mention.

⁵⁷ *Researches*, XXVI (1909), 40-41.

⁵⁸ *Woodstock Letters*, XV (1886), 62. Access to this publication, a privately printed quarterly of the Society of Jesus in North and South America, was kindly granted the author by the authorities of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, 275.

show that Bandol sailed for Europe in the next month. The change of residence did take place, but it was a change from Philadelphia to New York, whither the Continental Congress moved 11 January 1785. The French Minister, in order to be close to the seat of government, likewise changed his abode, and with him went his chaplain. Barbé de Marbois describes the change of residence in his despatches to Vergennes. The first of these letters is dated 26 December 1784. Written from Philadelphia, it reads:

Le Congrès s'étoit ajourné à Newyork pour le 11. du mois prochain: Le President en me faisant part de cet ajournement m'a invité à m'y rendre: j'y serai aussitôt que le Congrès sera rassemblé: . . . quant à la chapelle vous approuverés surement, Monseigneur, quelle soit transferée à Newyork: l'aumonier s'y rendra également et il y sera beaucoup plus utile qu'à Philadelphie où il y a une Eglise catholique: celle de Newyork a été brulée pendant la guerre et les Catholiques n'ont pu ni la rebatir ni même eriger une Chapelle et entretenir des prêtres en attendant qu'Elle soit rebatie. La Chapelle de la Maison de France leur sera d'une grande ressource pendant quelques années.⁸⁰

Two further excerpts from Marbois' correspondence may be inserted here. They furnish an explanation of the delay in moving the French Legation to New York, and demonstrate the accuracy of the information contained in Father Farmer's letter to Dr. Carroll. On 16 March 1785 Marbois began his letter to Vergennes as follows:

J'espère, Monseigneur, que vous approuverés mon absence de Newyork: la situation de ma femme qui est prête d'accoucher, exigeoit ma présence ici: Je m'y suis aussi rendu pour remettre l'hôtel qu'habitoit M^r le Ch^{er} de la Luzerne, et où J'ai demeuré après lui, à M^r Dickinson qui en est propriétaire; Je ferai faire incessamment la vente des meubles et effets de ce Ministre et des miens, et Je me transporterai à Newyork aussitôt que Cette vente Sera faite.⁸¹

Marbois' despatch No. 218 to Vergennes contains the following paragraphs:

Monseigneur

A Philadelphie le 27. mars 1785.

Le paquet ci joint pour M^r le Prince Doria Pamphili,⁸² m'a été adressé

⁸⁰ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 28: 461.

⁸¹ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 29: 107.

⁸² The Papal Nuncio in Paris. These are probably the letters which Shea

et particulièrement recommandé par M^r Carroll, supérieur général des missions. . . .

Les Catholiques de NewYork n'avoient pour prêtre qu'un irlandais aumônier des Vaisseaux de Sa Majesté, qui n'a point la permission d'être absent de son couvent, et qui en a Supposé une que j'ai reconnu fausse: Il a cependant obtenu des pouvoirs de M^r Carroll qui n'est pas informé de ces circonstances. au reste l'établissement de la Chapelle de la légation à NewYork, donne aux Catholiques de cette ville toutes les ressources Spirituelles qu'ils ont pu desirer.⁶³

With this date, 27 March 1785, all trace of the Abbé Bandol or of any chaplain of the French legation disappears. The correspondence between the legation and the French Foreign Office up to 1790 has been carefully searched for further information.⁶⁴ None has been found. On 25 August 1785 Barbé de Marbois was replaced as chargé d'affaires of France in the United States by M. Otto.⁶⁵ In January 1788 Otto was in turn replaced by the Comte de Moustier, the new minister plenipotentiary.⁶⁶ Negative evidence tending to the supposition that there was no chaplain at the French legation after Marbois' removal may be deduced from the correspondence of these two men. This evidence is far from conclusive, however, and is offered merely as material for further speculation. On 2 January 1786 Otto wrote a long letter to Vergennes concerning the activities of the Abbé de la Valinière, "ci-devant curé à Montréal," in New York.⁶⁷ The priest had come to Otto with a plan of converting America to Catholicism by founding seminaries in the principal cities of the United States. He proposed that Louis XVI pay the cost of these establishments, and stated that all Americans, even the New England Presbyterians, were ripe for conversion. This was a point of view that made Otto doubt the good sense of the zealous Abbé. He refused to support his plan, as he told Vergennes, and added some reflections of his own as follows:

presumes were to be taken to France by the Abbé Bandol, *op. cit.*, 275. Shea gives no authority for this assumption.

⁶³ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 29: 123.

⁶⁴ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 30-33 inclusive.

⁶⁵ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 30: 246.

⁶⁶ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 33: 11.

⁶⁷ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 31: 5.

Je suis persuadé, Monseigneur, que nous ne saurions rien faire de plus sage, que de ne prendre aucune part à tout ce qui est relatif à la religion dans ce pays-ci. La Tolérance dont jouissent à present tous les sujets de S. M., contribue autant que sa sage politique, à faire respecter son nom en pays étranger. La moindre apparence de zele religieux, reveilleroit les anciens préjugés que les auteurs Anglois avoient inspirés aux Americains. . . . Dès le commencement de la révolution, les Anglois n'ont cessé de répéter dans leurs publications politiques, que la France s'efforceroit de répandre le Catholicisme dans les Etats-Unis, pour avoir dans la suite plus de facilité de les subjuguér. Cette raison, et beaucoup d'autres dont je ne puis grossir ma lettre, doivent nous empêcher de nous mêler en aucune manière des affaires de religion en Amérique.

C'est sous ce point de vue, Monseigneur, que j'ai constamment refusé des secours au Curé Catholique de New-York, qui est venu me présenter à plusieurs reprises, une souscription pour le rétablissement d'une Eglise Catholique qui a été brûlée pendant la guerre. M. de Gardoqui^{**} a mis la première pierre de cette église, et y a ajouté une donation. On a fait différentes observations sur cette conduite, et à l'exception d'un petit nombre de Catholiques établis ici, on a généralement approuvé ma circonspection à cet égard. . . .

Further observations on religious liberty in America are included in this letter, as well as some details about quarrels between various Protestant sects. It concludes with the following significant paragraph:

. . . Le petit nombre de Catholiques n'a pas encore pu donner de l'ombrage; mais on croit ici comme en Angleterre, que cette religion est contraire à la liberté politique, et si elle s'augmentoît par le secours de quelque puissance étrangère, on ne manqueroit pas de s'opposer vivement à son accroissement. Il paroît d'ailleurs que nous sommes essentiellement intéressés qu'il n'y ait point en Amérique une Eglise française, puisqu'elle seroit un motif de plus d'exciter les sujets de S. M. à émigrer. Le S^r de la Valinière assemble les français, qui se trouvent ici dans sa maison. il y prêche régulièrement tous les dimanches, et il m'a assuré qu'il étoit persuadé que s'il y avoit ici une Eglise française, elle y attireroit un grand nombre de ses compatriotes./.

Finally, on 2 August 1788, De Moustier, describing a New York municipal banquet in celebration of the adoption of the Constitution, wrote the new French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Comte de Montmorin, as follows:

^{**} The chargé d'affaires of Spain in the United States.

. . . J'avois été invité et j'ai assisté à ce repas à la droite du Congrès et ayant à la mienne de suite le Ministre Plenip^{re} des Etats generaux, le Chargé d'affaires Plenip^{re} d'Espagne, les consuls et autres etrangers de distinction. A la gauche du Congrès etoient ses officiers et les membres du Clergé de la Ville, Anglicans, Presbyteriens, Catholiques, Lutheriens, Calvinistes, Juifs, tous indistinctement, excepté que l'Evêque Anglican avoit pris la droite de tous les autres et avoit dit *le benedicté*.⁶⁹

He who is interested may draw his own conclusions from the omission of any mention of a French chaplain from these accounts, where such mention might most reasonably be expected.

The fate of Bandol remains a mystery. John Gilmary Shea contradicts himself in this regard, stating in one place⁷⁰ that he sailed for Europe in April 1785, and in another place that: "The Abbé Bandol remained some years after the war, attached to the French embassy, and returned to France in the spring of 1788. He had been 10 years here."⁷¹ It seems certain from the preceding evidence that Bandol was still in America when the legation moved to New York in 1785. The same evidence may or may not warrant the tentative assumption that by 2 January 1786 he was no longer in that city. The New York city directory for 1786 does not mention his name, although its known lacunae are so numerous as to rob it of any real value as an exact list of the city inhabitants. The only possible conclusion that can be drawn from these meager sources is that Bandol *may* have severed his connection with the legation sometime between 27 March 1785 and 2 January 1786. During that same period Barbé de Marbois departed from New York to assume his new post as *Intendant* of one of the French colonies in the West Indies.⁷² The author suggests that Bandol may have accompanied him, and that further research in French colonial archives may pick up the thread of his career.

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⁶⁹ L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 33: 239.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, 275.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, n. 201. As his authority, Shea gives: "(Letter of Very Rev. Dr. Carroll to the Nuncio at Paris, March 5, 1788)." The present writer has not seen this letter. Griffin, *loc. cit.*, XXI (1904), 7, prints the bare statement that Bandol "returned to France in 1788." He was probably depending upon Shea's previous statement.

⁷² L. C. Transcripts, France, Aff. Etrang., corr. pol., Etats-Unis, 30: 269.

THE "TWO CITIES" OF OTTO OF FREISING AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY *

Modern methods of historical investigation seek to find everywhere the first beginning of events and through special studies (*Detailforschung*) to arrive at the solutions of problems that may confront us. Thus the historian seems almost like a doctor who performs an autopsy, and from such inquiries he often obtains marvelous results, either by finding the first cause of a trouble or the first sign of a success, or at least he enriches historic lore with new material.

Medieval history, however, was generally built up on a different plan. In the ages of faith the whole living organism of a body politic or ecclesiastic, as directed by an all-ruling Providence, was uppermost in the minds of the historians and they combined supernatural power, laws of necessity and liberty of man into one picture. The very names of treatises like the *Gesta Dei per Francos* or of institutions like the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation were influenced by this thought. This method, it is true, is directly opposed to the principles by which leaders in modern philosophy of history like Rousseau, Kant or Hegel were guided; but while the medievalists may have at times sinned by attributing too much to the supernatural, the moderns offend often by granting to it too little. Christian ethics and the canons of true science demand a proportionate share as the subject itself dictates.

For this reason modern historians refrain to a great extent from writing universal histories, viz., chronicles of all nations as a whole and with a definite plan. If they try to omit from such works God, that golden background of the affairs of the world, they fail invariably, because certain events cannot be explained sufficiently by using only natural causes. On the contrary this subject was a favorite theme among medieval writers. Potthast in his *Bibliotheca* gives 155 world-chronicles from Eusebius of

* Paper read at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 29, 1933, Pittsburgh.

Caesarea to Albert of Strassburg, all of which consider the human race as a unit, and one of the most prominent of them is the *Chronicon* or the *Two Cities* of Bishop Otto of Freising.

A short biography of this chronicler of the twelfth century and a critical inquiry into his methods of writing will be helpful in understanding his philosophy of history.

Otto was born about the year 1110, the fifth son of Leopold, Duke of Austria, and Agnes, a daughter of Henry IV, Emperor of Germany. Thus he became a half-brother of Conrad III and an uncle of Frederick Barbarossa, two eminent leaders in European affairs during that century. After receiving a nobleman's education in the castle of his parents, Otto was sent with a number of companions to the University of Paris to prepare for an ecclesiastical career (1127). He remained there six years. On the homeward journey the young student stopped at the Burgundian monastery of Morimond, then in the first fervor of its Cistercian reform. Our future historian and several of his friends were so well impressed with the lives of these monks, that they asked for admission into the community and the abbot gladly granted their request. After the regular period of probation they made their vows. In 1136, Otto was elected abbot of the same house, and towards the end of the next year he became Bishop of Freising in Bavaria. He occupied that See of St. Corbinian twenty-one years. During his administration he restored the economic condition of the bishopric which had suffered greatly on account of wars between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. He promoted philosophical and theological learning in a high decree and, it is said, that he was one of the first prelates to introduce Aristotelian philosophy east of the Rhine. He became a prominent diplomat at the side of his two relations on the throne of Germany, and in that capacity took part in the second Crusade. He led a saintly life and he made noteworthy contributions to history. Mabillon says of him: "Vir non modo pietate, sed etiam litteris clarus." Some authors call him Otto I, or the Great. The Cistercian martyrology places him among the Blessed of the Order. Otto died on September 22, 1158, while attending the General Chapter of the Order at Morimond; he was buried in that abbey-church at the side of the main altar. Rahewin, his

secretary and literary successor, in the *Gesta Frederici* placed the following epitaph on his tomb:

*Plangat hunc Germania planctu Generali,
Magis Tu, Frisingia, orba tali viro.*

Otto of Freising wrote a number of works, some of which are lost. From an historical and philosophical standpoint the most important was the *Chronicon* which he composed between the years 1143 and 1147. He recast it later and in 1157, presented a copy to his nephew Frederick Barbarossa. He called it *Historia de duabus Civitatibus*; but it is usually known by the name *The Two Cities*, or the *Chronicon*, of Otto of Freising.

The author himself gives the following reason for such a title:

Since things are changeable and can never be at rest, what man in his right mind will deny, that the wise man ought to depart from them to that city, which stays at rest and abides to all eternity? This is the City of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, for which the children of God sigh, while they are in this land of sojourn, oppressed by the turmoil of the things of time, as if they were oppressed by the Babylonian captivity. For in as much as there are two cities—the one of time, the other of eternity; the one of the earth, earthly, the other of heaven, heavenly; the one of the devil the other of Christ, Catholic writers have declared that the former is Babylon, the other Jerusalem.¹

The *Chronicle* is an universal history from Adam to the year 1146. It is divided into seven historical books, followed by the eighth—an eschatological treatise containing a description of the end of the world and of the future life. In his letter to Rainald of Dassel, the chancellor of the empire, whom he asked to recommend and to explain the work to the emperor, Otto gives the following causes for such a division:

There were from the beginning of the world four principal kingdoms, which stood out above all the rest and they are to endure to the end of time, succeeding one another in accordance with the law of the Universe, as can be gathered from the vision of Daniel. I have therefore set down the rulers of these kingdoms, listed in chronological order; first the Assyrians, next the Medes and Persians, finally the Greeks and Romans, recording the names of the emperors down to the present ruler, speaking

¹ Mierow, *The "Two Cities" etc.* (New York, 1928), 93.

of the other kingdoms only incidentally, to make manifest the fluctuations of events. . . . In the eighth book I brought the work to an end by speaking of the resurrection of the dead and of the end of the twofold city (*utriusque civitatis*).²

Thus it must be conceded that the *Chronicon* does not comprise the history of the whole world, especially not of the eastern nations; and without doubt in this respect Otto relied to a great extent on Orosius. But all historians agree that it is even difficult today to adopt another plan. Thus Dr. Pringle-Pattison says that any other plan would "demand an internationality of the universe, the ideal of which has not yet been achieved." Ranke, who wrote a *Universalgeschichte*, towards the end of his long life followed the same plan, and stated in his introduction that "only the events of such nations and times as far as they influenced one another and appear with and after one another and thus form a living unity should be included in such a work." Even Wells in his *Outline of History*, which is of that same class and written with Hegelian tendencies as his motto proves, acted in a similar manner. He used the expedition of Alexander the Great into India as a means of joining eastern history with western, but this treatise has no influence on his general philosophy of history.

Otto's aim in his *Two Cities* was plainly to write a philosophy of history of the world. In this respect J. B. Weiss says in his *Weltgeschichte*:

He wished to write a philosophy of history to elevate the *plana historia ad altiora velut philosophica acumina* and he refers to the ancient poets, that knew so well how to combine morality and history. This morality is the first principle of a philosophy of history for Otto and the second, the spirit of God, Providence, which rules the world. Moreover since some resist this power and others follow it, the dualism in history is already established from the very beginning.

There is no doubt that we have the original text of the *Two Cities* in its essential points. Dr. Adolf Hofmeister, who published a splendid edition of the *Chronicle* "in usum scholarum" in 1912, gives the following information in this respect: The first manu-

² Mierow, *op. cit.*, 91.

script was sent to Isengrim, later abbot of Ottobeuren, who had urged the bishop to compose such a work. But most probably this first composition perished in the fire of that monastery in 1152. The second edition, which he finished in 1157, fared somewhat better, because it was already copied extensively when it likewise disappeared. From the 53 codices—more or less complete—that are still in existence, Dr. Hofmeister selected six, from which he reconstructed his edition. The main difficulties in this collation were not so much the philosophical tenets, which the learned Bishop of Freising held, but the alterations that were made by copyists who inclined either to the Guelfic or the Ghibelline party of the times, especially because, at least in one passage, the author himself shows a strong Ghibelline tendency.

Two early printed editions have become the basis for subsequent publications: the Strassburg edition by Joannes Cuspius in 1515, and that of Basel by Pithoeus in 1569. Both are in the Library of Congress and have been examined. The first was collated from three codices: one of St. Trudpert, another from a text in the Augustinian monastery at Marbach, and the third from that of the abbey ad Scotos in Vienna. The Pithoeus edition follows the first very closely, but corrects it as regards style and adds expressions in favor of imperial power. The best modern editions are those of Roger Wilmans in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1868) and the above mentioned classical edition of Dr. Hofmeister (1912). An English translation of the latter was made in 1928 by Dr. Charles C. Mierow, President of Colorado College, and the English quotations in this paper are from this edition.

Lately the works of our historian have been examined very minutely by a number of German scholars. The most important in this respect are: Bernheim, *Der Charakter Ottos von Freising und seiner Werke* (1885); J. Hashagen, *Otto von Freising als Geschichtsphilosoph und Kirchenpolitiker* (1900); Joseph Schmidlin, "Die Philosophie Ottos von Freising" (*Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, 1905), "Bischof Otto von Freising als Theologe" (*Katholik*, 1905), "Die Eschatologie Ottos von Freising" (*Zeitschrift fuer kath. Theologie*, 1905), "Die geschichtsphilosophische und kirchen-

politische Weltanschauung Ottos von Freising" (*Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, 1906) and Hofmeister: *Studien ueber Otto von Freising* (1911).

Thus investigations were made as to whether or not Otto knew Greek or Hebrew sufficiently to consult the original sources, and in how far his quotations agree with the writings of the Fathers, historians and pagan authors from whom he gathered his information. Dr. Schmidlin came to this conclusion: "Otto's independence in thought is lowest in his philosophy, higher in theology, still greater in philosophical history, and most pronounced in his political views." Otto himself preferred to be ranked among the theologians, for he says in the *Gesta*: "Quae a philosophis genitura, a nobis factura seu creatura dici solet" (I, 5). In the present paper only the philosophy of history, as shown in the *Two Cities*, and the influence which that work had on subsequent historic thought and literature will be treated.

The *Chronicon* of Otto of Freising has been called the principal philosophical history of the world from the Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea in 329 to the letters on the study of history by Bolingbroke in 1735. At least it is the main work of that class between Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in 426, and Bossuet's *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* in 1680. However, scholars will try in vain to find therein a modern systematic procedure or to force Otto's philosophical and historical investigations into a present-day methodology. Hashagen says: "By frequently rising from the historical narration to philosophical meditation, he united history and philosophy into an artistic composition, although not yet into a systematic scientific work." But to value the *Two Cities* properly, it is not necessary to use a modern criterion; on the contrary, it would not be a product of the twelfth century if it had these qualities, and yet their absence renders it by no means inferior to later works of a similar nature. This gives it its peculiar distinction. Wattenbach writes: "The philosophico-theological treatment of the material must be regarded as the main portion of the work, although the last portion of it contains also some valuable information."¹

¹ *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, II, 245.

From a linguistic standpoint it ranks high, for, "despite minor blemishes, Otto's style was marked by clearness, simplicity, and beauty of expression," and, "if such a name could be applied, it might be called a classic of the Middle Ages."

Above all the *Chronicle* has the first quality which every historical treatise should possess: the earnest aim of the writer to be truthful. Otto asserts this plainly in his letter to Rainald of Dassel in these words:

You know that all teaching consists in two things: avoidance and selection . . . the art of the historian has certain things to clear away and to avoid others to select and arrange properly, for he avoids lies and selects the truth.⁴

Therefore Berthaud in his biography of Gilbert de la Porré praises Otto's work in this respect with the following words: "Ce n'est ni un panégyrique ni une diatribe, c'est une simple chronique, calme, modérée, appréciant les choses d'un point de vue supérieure aux mesquines préoccupations de la partialité."

Secondly, the author made great efforts to present a vivid picture of the past to please his hearers. In this respect he meets the requirements of Benzo of Alba, who held the view that the true historian should as it were "call back the dead to life after a hundred years," or of Baldrich who believed that an historian should present a picture, as if the event were reenacted before the reader's eyes. To give only one example, Otto describes the battle of Pharsalus with these words:

And so the two armies met on the plain of Pharsalus, eighty-eight cohorts being drawn up in triple line on each side. You might have seen a lamentable and heart-rending combat: the citizens were lords of the wide, wide world divided against each other, aided by the resources of the whole earth and (so to speak) the sons of one mother, desiring to disembowel one another with their own hands. Though the armies gave way and the outcome was long in doubt, Pompey was finally forced by the ferocity of the Julian soldiers to flee with his followers and so the victory fell to Caesar.

Thirdly, Otto's critical methods were of a higher order than we

⁴ Mierow, *op. cit.*, 90.

usually meet with during the Middle Ages. He knew two ways to make his statements valuable: he gave the sources from which he drew his information, and if he had several, he frequently showed why he selected the one in preference to the other. "If he deemed all of them untrustworthy," says Mierow, "he acted in much the same fashion as a modern newspaper editor to avoid libel suits—by using expressions like *fertur, dicitur, asserunt*." Or, he pointed out the incredible foundations on which they rest, and he indicated why he refused to accept such improbabilities and impossibilities. Or, finally, he sought to find a natural interpretation of such extraordinary events or legends. Thus, for example, he rejected the cure of Constantine the Great from leprosy through baptism; he gave, as the true cause of the emperor's conversion, his victory over Maxentius; and he referred to the time when the emperor was baptized in the following words:

According to the tradition of the Romans Constantine was baptized by him (Sylvester) in the church of St. John. The cause of his conversion is stated above. Therefore what we read in the life of S. Sylvester about his leprosy is seen to be apocryphal. However the Tripartite History states that he was baptized in Nicomedia toward the end of his life.

If we examine the *Chronicon* in regard to its sources and prototypes, there is no doubt that Otto used principally Augustine's *City of God* and Orosius' *History against the Pagans*: the first for his philosophy, the second for his early historical sources. He is very candid about this himself and he says in his Prologue:

I follow most of all those illustrious lights of the Church, Augustine and Orosius, and have planned to draw from their fountains what is pertinent to my theme and my purpose. One has discoursed most keenly and eloquently on the origin and the progress of the City of God . . . the other, in answer to those who uttering vain babblings preferred the former times to Christian times, has composed a very valuable history of the fluctuations and wretched issue of human greatness.

Otto even indicates exactly how far in his chronology he used these and other authors. Thus he made the following remark after the year 1106:

So far I have set down extracts from the books of Orosius, Fuserius

and of others, who wrote after them, even to our own time. What follows, since it is still fresh in men's memories, we shall record, as it has been related to us by credible men or seen or heard by ourselves.

However all critics agree in this, that Otto never followed these sources slavishly. To quote only one, Wilmans says: "Otto was never the servile imitator of renowned masterpieces and to say the least he used these sources with great skill."

This will naturally bring us to the question, in how far did Otto differ especially from St. Augustine, the Father of medieval philosophical history?

Prantl, an outspoken enemy of medieval learning, has tried to rob the Bishop of Freising of every merit of having advanced philosophical science in his day. Bernheim and Hashagen follow him to a certain extent, but the latter acknowledges that, "as regards philosophic-historical questions, he began to free himself from the traditional dependence on Augustine." In a similar manner, Dr. A. S. Pringle-Pattison in his recent paper: *The Philosophy of History*, completely ignores Otto of Freising. He writes: "The Augustinian scheme in its essentials was universally accepted during the Middle Ages and reappears substantially unchanged in Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History* at the close of the seventeenth century."

But there are a number of very important differences between the *City of God* of the Bishop of Hippo and the *Two Cities* of the Bishop of Freising.

Above all Augustine wrote with the main purpose of defending the principles of Christianity in its relation to the pagan Roman State and to Hellenic culture. Therefore, he says: "Gloriosissimam Civitatem Dei sive in hoc temporum cursu . . . sive in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae . . . hoc opere . . . defendere adversus eos, qui Conditori eius deos suos praeferunt, suscepi." In particular it is well known that in his first five books he proves to his contemporaries that the external welfare of the Roman State in the past did not come from the power of the gods; in the next five, that the future of the commonwealth will not depend on them. Only in the eleventh chapter does he begin the subject of the two cities:

the earthly and heavenly. Then in the four following, he treats of the first man and the first sin, and with the fifteenth to the twentieth he describes the growth of the two states to the time of Christ. Finally chapters 20, 21, and 22 have as their subject the last judgment, the end of the wicked and the eternal happiness of the blessed. On the contrary, Otto's chronicle has no such tendency, nor did the times in which he lived require it. In fact he excludes directly such an apologetical aim with these words:

It is our intention to set forth, not after the manner of a disputant, but in the fashion of one telling a story, a history, in which on the one hand the varying experiences, on the other hand, the progress and achievements of the citizens of Babylon, shall be intervoven. *A sufficient reply has been I think, made by our predecessors to those who assail our faith.*

Moreover there is no doubt that in Augustine's day, when Manichaeism was still prominent and a danger to Christianity, the unity in the *City of God*, the Church, had to be emphasized and the power of the mind over matter to be stressed. In Otto's time such a difficulty was entirely absent. This appears even in the two titles: *De Civitate Dei* of the former, and *De duabus Civitatibus* of the latter. Thus Otto could from the very beginning of his work place more easily the bad and the good elements in the world aside of each other and let them grow until the harvest: the last judgment.

The great bishop in Africa essentially follows Plato as his guide in philosophy; the illustrious bishop in Bavaria takes Aristotle as his model. Therefore, Schmidlin says so well:

Augustine's mind is above the facts, he shapes them for his purpose like a lawyer, who is pleading his cause, but keeps strictly to the facts. On the contrary, Otto records the facts without any dramatic or rhetorical adornment, even to the extent, that he does not spare the popes, if by their lives they show that they are unworthy rulers (invasores) of the City of God. Thus the work of the great doctor of Hippo is philosophically deeper and wider in its scope, but that of the bishop of Freising is historically more balanced.

To give only one difference in this respect: Otto treats pagan Rome with greater consideration than Augustine, because it is to

the latter more the preparation for the new spiritual Rome, and to the doctor of the fifth century more a power opposing the spread of Christianity, while Orosius looks upon it still more severely, almost as essentially evil.

It is true that the Augustinian ideas of Providence and Church dominated the whole historical literature of the Middle Ages, and that Otto was influenced by this philosophy. But the latter developed this Christian *Weltanschauung* more than its pathfinder; and by the complete mastery of that thought, according to a well-defined plan, he created a philosophical atmosphere which no historian after him reached for a long time. Dr. Schmidlin even asserts that "we hardly have an historical composition in which history and philosophy are more logically united." Wattenbach agrees with him in these words: "Otto's *Chronicle* is essentially different from all others that proceeded him, because he had full command of the subject and he developed it with a definite plan in mind. Such a work was only possible after the chronological histories of the previous period had appeared, especially the chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura." Von Eiken asserts: "The system of the *Civitas Dei* was indeed reasoned out by Augustine, but it came into real existence only under the Carlingian and Salian emperors, and in this historic setting it was treated by Otto of Freising." It is well known that the *City of God* was Charlemagne's favorite book. Thus we can almost say that Augustine was pre-eminently an historical philosopher and Otto a philosopher of history.

The relations of Otto with the philosophical schools of his times are harder to determine. The Bishop of Freising lived at a period when the philosophical disputes about the Universals occupied the minds of men, and the scholars took sides with either Abélard, Gilbert de la Porré, or St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Clerval in his *Ecoles de Chartres* says of this period: "Ils batirent leur système en dehors de l'autorité traditionnelle, avec une liberté audacieuse et inconsciente, ils se préoccupèrent seulement de ne pas la contredire ouvertement." Otto stood in the midst of that controversy, although, as far as we know, he wrote no special book in this respect.

His very training at the University of Paris, where most probably Hugh of St. Victor was one of his professors, must have prepared him for such a position; and later the school of philosophy which he founded at Freising and which he modeled after the Parisian citadel of learning, almost necessitated it. All his known works sound the praises of the science of philosophy and his *Chronicon* is no exception. But for our purpose, only his exact relation to the various systems of that day needs a critical inquiry, and this shows that herein he occupies a unique place.

Undoubtedly the most serious attack on the philosophical attainments of Otto came from the pen of the learned Maurist Dom Edmond Martène. His verdict must have been influenced by an exaggerated admiration for St. Bernard. Martène associates Otto directly with Abélard and calls him a man of little learning, even an ignoramus. He writes: "Nonnullos ille (Abelardus) habuit patronos, imprimis Othonem in Sanctum Bernardum parum aequum, hominem exterum et, ut existimamus, parum instructum." It is, however, certain that Otto never followed the nominalist philosopher; on the contrary, he spoke of him as "more subtle and more learned than ever," and thereby showed his disapproval in the *Chronicon*. In the *Gesta* he is still firmer in his condemnation.

Otto's relations to Gilbert de la Porrée, the "Magister sex Principiorum" were much closer. Gilbert's position is well known today. He tried to mediate between the schools of his time by his conceptualism, and, while he prepared the way for the subsequent classical period of Scholasticism, he fell into several errors, especially on the doctrine of the Trinity. These were condemned in the Synod of Rheims in 1148. For a long time Otto was regarded as Gilbert's follower. Thus in 1848, Wiedemann in his *Otto von Freisingen* declared that our historian was a firm supporter of Gilbert's principles; and in 1885, Bernheim, in the *Mitteilungen des Instituts fuer oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* used the word heresy to designate Otto's position. Perhaps the statement of Rahewin, that Otto revoked on his death-bed all that he had written in favor of the Bishop of Poitiers, was responsible for this mistake. Some historians have looked upon this declaration as a pious legend,

similar to the one which is sometimes mentioned about St. Thomas Aquinas at the moment of his death. Lately (1905), Dr. Schmidlin examined this relation of Otto to Gilbert in the *Katholik*. He came to the conclusion, that the Bishop of Freising believed that Gilbert was misunderstood and, therefore, tried to bring about an understanding between him and his adversaries. He even proved that, as far as Gilbert's first sentence is concerned, Otto held the very opposite view, especially by his real distinction between divinity and God: *subsistentia* and *subsistens*.

The relations of our bishop-historian to St. Bernard of Clairvaux should have been the closest, but they must seem very strange. The two churchmen were members of the same Order, they corresponded with a third illustrious Cistercian of that day, Pope Eugene III, and they met repeatedly at the General Chapters, for Otto continued even as bishop to follow monastic observances. Thus Otto was at Speyer in 1146, when Bernard succeeded in enlisting Conrad III for the second Crusade, and a year later he himself took the cross from Bernard's successor, Abbot Adam, at Ratisbon. Yet the four hundred letters of Bernard, which are still in existence today, do not so much as mention Otto's name, and the latter's *Chronicle* gives no information. Two causes have been assigned to this strange fact: the conciliatory disposition of our historian during these disputes, and his strong inclination towards Aristotelian philosophy, which was suspected in some quarters by the mystics of that day as savoring of heterodoxy. The latter seems the more probable, because Gerhoh of Reichersberg, a close follower and a correspondent of St. Bernard and, as we know, a personal friend also of the Bishop of Freising, does not quote him in his works on mystic theology, and even strenuously opposes his dialectic methods. A passage in the *Gesta* also confirms this. In this Otto speaks of the Abbot of Clairvaux as "*religionis fervore zelotypus*," and "*ex habituali mansuetudine quodammodo credulus, ut et magistros, qui humanis rationibus saeculari sapientia nimium inhaerebant, abhorreret et si quidquam ei christianae fidei absonum de talibus diceretur, facile aurem praeberet*." This is, however, far from the statement of some critics who have magni-

fied this difference into a real opposition; as Wattenbach wrote: "Der fanatische Eifer Bernhards von Clairvaux war nicht nach seinem Sinn."

This must now lead us to the question: What was Otto's philosophical tendency, which, as Dr. Mierow and others say "forms the backbone of his whole work and gives it at once unity and a definite aim." Otto himself calls it "*Miseria rerum mutabilium*," and modern writers have expressed it by the phrase "Christian pessimism." The first cause for such a disposition came from the period in which he wrote his *Two Cities*. Indeed, that time must have appeared very gloomy to any thoughtful man! The conditions in Rome, where the socialistic tendencies of Arnold of Brescia constantly threatened the spiritual and temporal power of the pontiffs, seemed very dangerous. The contest between the papacy and the empire was by no means over, and Otto occupied a singular position in this respect: he was a grandson of Henry IV on his mother's side, and at the same time a bishop of the Church. This could not but weigh heavily on such a soul. In Germany the Guelfs and Ghibellines fought for supremacy, and among others the *Chronicon Pantaleonis* (1151) pictures the conditions of the empire in the gloomiest colors. Then the political relations between France and England seemed to be at the breaking point; the latter country was also in throes of a civil war over the Angevin succession. It is also well known that St. Bernard speaks of the anarchy which prevailed at that day in Ireland. Finally, in the East the conquest of Edessa, the bulwark of Christian power in Asia Minor, by the Seljukian Turks in 1144, spread consternation in the West and caused the second Crusade in which Otto enlisted. All this influenced the mind of our historian to such an extent that, like St. Augustine facing the impending fall of Rome, he believed that the end of the world was nigh. Thus as the conquest in 410 became the occasion for the composition of *De Civitate Dei*, these troubles of the middle of the twelfth century influenced Otto to write his *De Duabus Civitatibus*. He says in his letter to Frederick Barbarossa:

I wrote this history in bitterness of spirit, led thereto by the turbulence

of that unsettled time which preceded your reign and therefore I did not merely give events in their chronological order, but rather wove together, in a manner of a tragedy, their sadder aspects . . .

But this was the least of the forces that produced a pessimism in a heart which had no inclination towards such a disposition. A man like Otto, who could look upon adverse events like the Neronian persecution from a truly Christian standpoint, was no pessimist. Therefore some critics gave as a deeper cause his outspoken trend of nationality which inclined him to melancholy and to the tragic in history. Dr. Hauck explains this in the following manner: as the bishop read the various chronicles that were to be the sources for his "World Drama," he saw clearly that the law of change and misery on this earth, in this vale of tears, was universal. All this gradually caused in his sensitive soul, which loved harmony and peace above everything else, a deep mental woe, a *Weltschmerz*, that manifested itself in a special manner, when he had to record the death of a great world-figure. These writers even assert that this inclination brought about Otto's style, which, as Hauck says is "warmer, softer and more thoughtful than that to which men were accustomed at that time." Thus Otto describes the death of Alexander the Great:

How pitiful the lot of mortals! How blind, how wretched their minds! Is not this the Alexander, who brought low the glorious kingdom of the Persians and transferred their power to the Macedonians? Is he not the man, before whom the whole world trembled, though it had not seen him and not daring to await his coming, voluntarily gave itself over to slavery? And yet such a great man is destroyed by draining a single cup, by the treachery of a single attendant and the whole world is shaken by one man's death.

A third cause of this Christian pessimism was Otto's asceticism or his *Weltflucht*. From the moment that he entered the Abbey of Morimond to his death in the same cloister, he continued to live as a monk, even to the point of wearing his religious garb as bishop. In the midst of the troubles that beset him on all sides, he constantly looked to the end of this life and to the bliss beyond. At times the text shows a real longing for that state, a yearning for

a permanent peace in the world to come, and he finds the greatest consolation in the thought that as a member of the Church of God he is sure of this happiness. In this respect his Christian pessimism might be called the *Heimweh* of a deeply religious soul. Giesebrecht even termed it "optimistic idealism." It is that deep Christian *Weltanschauung* which is always joined with true asceticism. The first Christians looked upon the world in a similar way, and the *Imitation of Christ* expresses at times the same thought. With this spirit as his guide our historian makes the following reflection on the death of the same Alexander the Great:

But we who love the world, who desire to cleave to it as though it were something eternal and abiding, do not consider such things as these. We fall with the falling, slip with the slipping, roll with the rolling, in a word perish with the perishing. The City of Christ, however, founded on the firm rock is not shaken by the misfortunes and tempests of the world, but continuing immovable and unshaken gains an eternal kingdom and eternal crown.

Finally, the principal motive of Otto of Freising in his *Two Cities* was his firm belief in the Providence of God. It is well known that at the time when the *Chronicon* was to be published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, some writers brought forward the objection that the eighth book should be excluded, because it is more an eschatological treatise than an historical work. Quite a number of critics favored that view, but finally the arguments of Duemge and Mone, who declared that the last book of the *Two Cities* forms an integral part of the whole composition, prevailed, and it was printed together with the other chapters. And justly so.

The eighth book reveals the chief aim of the historian more than any other part of the work. Otto says in the Prologue to this book:

We do not think that we are doing amiss if, after enumerating the miseries of this present life, we attempt to treat of the eternal rest of the saints of life after darkness.

It is even now the general opinion that philosophy of history can have but one chief aim—to explain the final end in this constant flow of facts and the continual change of beneficial and adverse happenings in human life. This teleology was unknown to the

ancients, who looked upon everything as brought about by chance or fate, at least caused without any unity of purpose. On the other hand, modern philosophers who exclude a personal God in such a history seek only an immanent end. Therefore Dr. Pattison says:

The philosophy of history is essentially teleological, that it to say, it seeks to interpret the progress as the realization of an immanent end. . . . History is thus represented by Hegel, for example, as the realization of the idea of freedom and the play of cultural interests with the stable objectivity of law and an abiding consciousness of the greater whole in which we move.

For his same reason the writer in his *Philosophy of History* declared: "Augustine's treatise is far more the exposition of a theological system than what we now understand by a philosophy of history." But the Christian philosopher of history can only describe the manner in which the Lord of Hosts leads the mighty army of the nations which he brought into existence, united with Him not merely by external ties but in an organic union for the purpose which the God-Man has in view.

Otto shows this Divine Providence in his *Chronicle* in an eminent degree. His principles in this respect are wider than those of the Jewish philosophers who looked upon the Gentile nations only as handmaids for the progress of the chosen people of God. They were also far above the spirit of the average medieval writer who would either not treat of the pagan nations at all or only as far as they prepared for the coming of Christianity. They gave even more consideration to earthly things than St. Augustine did in his *City of God*, which contains much less of art, science, literature or invention, than the *Two Cities* of our historian.

Therefore, Gaisser and Schmidlin say:

By, as it were, weaving together the earthly material with Christian faith under the direct influence of a higher government of the world and in union with Divine Providence in all things, Otto inaugurated the most essential progress in medieval historiography; and this movement became of similar importance for the science of history as the adoption of the Aristotelian methods by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas was for the perfection of scholasticism.

The second part of our theme: the influence of the philosophy of

history of the *Two Cities* on contemporary and later writers can be considered very briefly.

Otto's *Chronicle* was very widely read, as the many manuscripts that have survived still testify, and many writers of the next centuries used it as a source for their literary productions. Dr. Hofmeister in the introduction to his edition of the *Two Cities* gives the names of fifteen such authors for the twelfth century, ten for the thirteenth, five for the fourteenth and fifteen for the following two centuries. He has entitled his chapter: *De expilatoribus Chronicarum*, and thereby indicated sufficiently the use which these writers made of the original. Michael, in his *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, adds another work which he declares was written with the *Chronicon* as its sponsor: the *Ludus de Antichristo* of Tegernsee, which takes its theme from the eighth book. Hofmeister holds a different view. He does not state the reason, but most probably, because the latter was written very soon after the publication of the first. Most of these "plagiarists" were from southern Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Alsace, and only one each from France, Italy and Poland.

When we consider this popularity, it is surprising that no writer built up on the philosophical foundations which were so well laid by the learned Bishop of Freising, especially since during the next fifty years a number of conditions seemed so favorable for such a development. Thus the unfolding of scholasticism could have contributed to a more systematic treatment of this or similar subjects; also, the patriotic enthusiasm which became prominent during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa might have suggested a proper subject. Finally, the material prosperity which appeared towards the end of that century was able to add a new element to give such a philosophy of history the proper balance. The last would have been of special importance, because above all the *Chronicon* lacked the proper evaluation of material things to render it scientifically perfect.

However, the absence of such men who might have continued on Otto's path was not the only drawback. Marie Schulz and others give us several more. The most important of them was the renewal

of the contest between the empire and the papacy, the beginning of which our historian still witnessed during the last years of his life. Under such conditions he was more drawn to the affairs of the times, and he wrote the *Gesta Frederici*. In a similar manner, the growth of the national spirit which centered around this Hohenstaufen emperor, and later surrounded his name with legends, became detrimental to a general theme like a world history. All this brought the vernacular to the foreground, and thus gradually the first flowery period of German literature developed, which, as some critics say, was by no means inferior to that of the eighteenth century. Lastly, the tendency of the times towards purely worldly themes stood in great contrast to the spirit of the Middle Ages, and could not therefore prosper; but while it lasted, it was bound to impede the progress of the Christian philosophy of history.

It is almost tragic that Otto himself should have inaugurated that decadence. We have seen that in the *Two Cities* he almost rose to the highest point in the Catholic philosophy of history, and with his next work, the *Gesta Frederici*, he stepped down to the position of a mere chronicler. Indeed, he became a painstaking, a very exact and a very fair recorder of the deeds of his contemporaries, as the emperor himself gave him the documents for that purpose. Therefore the work is very valuable for the times. Otto also added some reflections on these records and thereby proved his great talent for political science. But in spite of all this, the work is only a chronicle. Dr. Schmidlin who, in his study of Otto's philosophy of history, examined all the known writings of the bishop, and quotes from, or refers to, over four hundred passages in the *Two Cities*, adduces only about twenty-five statements from the *Gesta Frederici*. Truly, a proof for the comparative value of the two works for the philosophy of history of the Bishop of Freising. Under such conditions we cannot expect anything better from the continuators of the *Chronicon*.

These were two. The first who followed him was Otto of St. Blasien. This Benedictine historian, who according to some was elected abbot of that monastery towards the end of his life, continued the seventh book of the *Two Cities*. He entitled it *Chronica*,

and it is sometimes called: *Ad librum VII chronici Ottonis Frisingensis episcopi continuatae historiae appendix*. It records mostly the events in the empire from 1146 to 1209, and it is of special value for the history of the Appenine peninsula during that critical period, because the writer either accompanied the imperial troops in these campaigns or had first-hand information about them. But what a difference between the two compositions. Almost the only similarity is the language. Wilmans says that Otto of Freising wrote *stylo satis culto*, and he repeats the same phrase, when speaking of the diction of Otto of Blasien. Dr. Hofmeister, who also published a critical edition of this chronicle in 1912, approves the verdict. He even praises the writer as a "hominem in litteris praecipue theologicis adprime eruditum" and the text itself proves beyond a doubt that he was a man of considerable learning and of refined taste.

But there is little philosophy of history in the *Chronica* of Otto of St. Blasien. He divides his work into chapters in accordance with the years in which the events took place, and therefore it could just as well be called *Annales*. Moreover, the historian is at times not impartial, because he sides too openly with the Ghibellines, who were protectors of his monastery, and some critics have even attacked the accuracy of his chronology.

A second monk whose name is not even known continued this same work till the year 1287, in the *Chronica Turicensis Universalis*. This breathes still less the spirit of the master. It is divided, like the former, into chapters by years; it repeats parts of its predecessors; and it offers very little that is new. Besides it is also very short.

Therefore, to sum up the influence which the *Two Cities* had on the Catholic philosophy of history, we can say: Otto of Freising extended, deepened and balanced the plan of St. Augustine's *City of God*. He expressed the thought of the Middle Ages about universal history in the most typical manner. He almost reached the standpoint of a science of history, and the *Chronicon* was widely read and extensively used by later writers. But he had no literary successor who continued on the path which he had marked out.

Only towards the end of the seventeenth century Bishop Bossuet took up again the same subject. It is hardly probable that the "Eagle of Meaux" was sufficiently acquainted with the work of this, his illustrious predecessor. He seems rather to have taken St. Augustine as his direct guide. Concerning this subject the words of Otto himself, as regards other questions that confronted him, may be applied: "The decision of a final judgment has been left to those who are wiser."

FELIX FELLNER.

MISCELLANY

FRANCIS CARDINAL EHRLE, S. J., 1845-1934: IN MEMORIAM

In the early morn of Holy Saturday, March 31, 1934, there passed away a great Cardinal, scientist and religious, whose personality, knowledge and achievements have not only influenced scholarship for almost a half-century but have also won for him an enduring place in the history of the Church as well as in her hall of literary fame—Francis Cardinal Ehrle of the Society of Jesus. Born at Isny in the Allgäu, Diocese of Rottenburg, Germany, on October 17, 1845, young Ehrle received his first religious and secular education under the vigilant care of his exemplary Catholic parents, Dr. Francis Ehrle, the district physician, and Bertha von Fröhlich, in a private school at Trauchburg nearby.

During the second year of his high school course (Gymnasium), he was sent (1856) to a boarding school, Stella Matutina, at Feldkirch (Vorarlberg, Austria), then conducted by German Jesuits who also taught at the Lyceum of the same city. Among his professors at the time was the famous exegete and author, Father Rudolph Cornely, S. J. Upon the completion of his high school studies—he was then sixteen—he entered the Novitiate of the Jesuits at Gorheim (Hohenzollern) on September 29, 1861. Following a two years' novitiate, he entered the College of Friedrichsburg, near Münster, where between the years 1863-1865, he applied himself to the study of rhetoric and the humanities. During the following three years (1865-1868), he completed his course of philosophy at the ancient and renowned Abbey of Maria-Laach. Here for the first time he became interested in library science, having been appointed assistant to the regular librarian, Father Renward Bauer. He returned to Feldkirch in 1868, and during the following five years he served there as teacher, prefect and vice-librarian. When, in 1873, the Jesuits were obliged to leave Germany on account of the Kulturkampf, he betook himself to Ditton Hall, near Liverpool, where the Society had opened a House of Studies for their theological students. Here between the years 1873-1877, he completed his course in theology under the guidance of such well-known professors as Fathers Sasse, Wiedemann, Wernz and Knabenbauer. He was ordained priest on September 24, 1876.

Father Ehrle spent part of the first years of his priesthood in teaching at the College of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool, as well as in serving as chaplain to the inmates of one of the local Workhouses. In 1878, he became one of the contributors to the German periodical *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, then published by the Jesuits at the once famous monastery of Tervueren, near Brussels, conceded to their use by Count Robian Stol-

berg. Here in October, 1878, he began his first important literary activities. Among these was his plan of a history of scholasticism. Appreciating the necessity of being closer to a large library, he was permitted to transfer his residence temporarily to Brussels where he acted as chaplain to the Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus. Here he published a part of his history and prepared a study concerning the history and reform of charitable benefices. In anticipation of the opening of the Vatican Archives by the far-seeing Leo XIII, Father Ehrle was sent to Rome by the directors of the *Stimmen* to prepare a work on the Apostolic Legates in Germany during the Thirty Years' War. Disappointed in not finding more modern works on the subject in the Roman libraries, he again turned his attention to his original project of the history of scholasticism.¹ In quest of material for this monumental enterprise, Ehrle consulted the libraries at Naples, Assisi, Todi and Florence in 1881, and in 1882, those of Paris, London, Oxford, Leipzig and Munich. Thus in 1883, he was able to publish as the first fruits of his research certain monographs referring especially to medieval Franciscan scholasticism and to the School of Salamanca during the sixteenth century.² In 1885, besides beginning a *Bibliotheca Theologiae et Philosophiae Scholasticae Selecta*³ in which with the assistance of Fathers Fechlín, Beringer and Bringmann he issued two rare works by Jesuit philosophers, he founded in conjunction with the learned Austrian Dominican, Father Henry Denifle, the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, today a veritable mine of valuable and hitherto unpublished historical documents and literary dissertations from the pens of some of the most learned scholars of the last decades of the nineteenth century. Among his own works was the masterly handling of the delicate problem of the Spirituals of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth, centuries and their relation to the Franciscan Order and the popes. Although new revisions of the early Constitution of the Franciscan Order, from that of Narbonne (1260), published under the direction of St. Bonaventure, to the end of the thirteenth century, have since been discovered, they have added nothing substantially new to the publication of the early codification in the ALKG nor to the classical

¹ Some of the results of his studies on this subject appeared in the *Stimmen der Zeit*, XVIII (1880), 13-28, 292-317, 388-407, 485-495; *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* (ALKG), I (1885), 335-40, V (1889), 603-635; *Festschrift Georg v. Hertling*, 426-450; *Festgabe Clemens Bauckner: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Supplementband 2* (Münster, 1923), 1-63.

² "Die Vatikanische Handschriften der Salamanticenser Theologen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (Von Vitoria bis Bafiez); ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der neueren Scholastik," *Der Katholik*, 64 (1884), 495, 522, 633, 654; 65 (1885), 85-107, 161-183, 405-424, 503-522.

³ Published in five volumes, Paris, 1885-1894.

interpretation given them by this learned and impartial Jesuit. Other noteworthy articles in the ALKG from the pen of Father Ehrle referred to the history of the Pontifical library, the accession of Clement V to the See of Peter, and the anti-Pope, Benedict XIII (Peter de Luna). In the ALKG he likewise laid down the fundamental principles for his history of scholasticism, later adopted by Martin Grabmann, in his article "Über Wert und Methode des Studiums der scholastischen Handschriften," in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (XXXIX, 1915, 699-740), and dedicated to Ehrle on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. In 1900, following the edition of seven important volumes, the ALKG had to suspend publication. Ehrle's many and valuable contributions to the history of the Franciscan Order are known to every lover of *Franciscana*. Besides those already mentioned these are: "Die Spiritualen vor dem Inquisitionstribune", ALKG (I, 156-158); "Die historia septem tribulationum ordinis minorum des Fr. Angelus de Clarenio" (*ibid.*, II, 247); "Angelus de Clarenio, der mutmassliche Verfasser der historia tribulationem ord. min." (*ibid.*, III, 406-8); "Petrus Johannis Olivi, sein Leben und seine Schriften" (*ibid.*, III, 409-552); and "John Peckham über den Kampf des Augustinismus und Aristotelismus im 13 Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie* (XIII, 1889, 172-193).⁴

Not less interested was Father Ehrle in the glories of the Dominican Order, as one might logically deduce from his predilection for the history of scholastic philosophy. In this connection may be mentioned: "Der seliger Albert d. Grosse, zur Feier des 15 Nov. 1880" (*Stimmen der Zeit*, XIX, 1880, 241-258); "Der Kampf um die Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin in den ersten fünfzig Jahren nach seinem Tode" (*Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, XXXVII, 266-318); "Arnaldo di Villanova ed i 'Tomisti': Contributo alla storia della scuola tomistica" (*Gregorianum*, I, 1920, 475-501); "S. Domenico, le origini del primo studio generale del suo ordine a Parigi e la Somma teologica del primo maestro Rolando da Cremona" (*Miscellanea Domenicana in memoriam VII anni saecularis ab obitu Patris Dominici*, Rome, 1923, 1-52); "La figura e l'opera di S. Tomaso d'Aquino" (*L'Osservatore Romano*, 10-11 Marzo, 1924, No. 60; *Rivista di Filosofia neoscholastica*, XVI, 234-8).

His love for America was not only manifested by his friendly relations with such American universities as Harvard, Princeton, Chicago, and Michigan, relations which he retained until death as the author knows

⁴ The person and writings of St. Bonaventure had a special attraction for Father Ehrle; cf. *Stimmen*, XXV, 1883, 15-28; *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie* (VIII, 1884, 413-426); *Franziskanische Studien* (VIII, 1921, 109-124). The writer will in the near future devote a special paper on Cardinal Ehrle's importance in the field of Franciscan literature in the *Miscellanea Franciscana*, XXXIV (Rome, 1934), Fasc. II.

from personal contact with the deceased Cardinal, but also by his photo-type publications of selected documents from the Vatican Archives bearing on the relations of the Roman pontiffs to America immediately prior and subsequent to the discoveries of Columbus (Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1893), and by his important essay in the *Stimmen der Zeit* (XLVI, 1894, 367-394) on the historical value of the papal exhibits at the World's Fair of Chicago, 1893. Ehrle was a great traveller in quest of knowledge. His researches regarding the accession of Clement V brought him to Avignon, Toulouse and Auch; those concerning Peter de Luna to Avignon, Barcelona, and Madrid, to say nothing of minor excursions to French or Italian libraries.⁵

In the spring of 1890, appeared at Rome the first large volume of his *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum, tum Bonifatianae, tum Avenionensis*. In August of the same year, Father Ehrle was invited to become a member extraordinary of the Board of Counsellors for the Administration of the Apostolic Vatican Library. As a member of the Board, his salutary influence was immediately felt in the acquisition of the Borghese Library, the transfer of the collection of Vatican printed books from the *Appartamento Borgia* to their new location, the erection of the Leonine Hall of Consultation and the collection and proper placing of all important works published throughout Europe. It thus happened that in January, 1895, on the occasion of the sudden death of Monsignor Isidore Carini, Leo XIII appointed Father Ehrle Vice-Prefect, and in the following summer, Prefect, of the Vatican Library. From that time on he worked indefatigably for the proper arrangement and the facility of consultation of the valuable books and manuscripts of the Library, many heretofore hidden from the scientific world. Students and scholars of every nationality, creed, and profession found in him a helpful friend, adviser and guide in their various researches and publications. Pope Benedict XV wrote of him in a brief, dated September 19, 1921: "Pluribus litteratis hominibus, etiam non Catholicis, a te consilium, incitamenta, hortationes, directionem ad investigandos evulgandosque scientiarum thesauros in Bibliotheca Vaticana, tamquam in terris aurum, reconditos, a te nunquam non esse profusa . . . cognitum perspectumque habemus".⁶

⁵ Cf. "Nachlass Clemens V und der in Betreff desselben von Johann XXII (1318-1321) geführte Prozess" (ALKG, V, 1-158). Other important publications from his pen at this time are: "Die '25 Millionen' in Schätze Johannis XXII" (ALKG, V, 159-166); "Aus den Akten des Afterkonzils von Perpignan, 1408" (*ibid.*, V, 387-492); "Zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Hofcerimoniels im 14 Jahrhundert" (*ibid.*, V, pp. 565-602); "L. König, Die päpstlichen Kammer unter Clemens V und Johann XXII" (*Stimmen*, XLVII, 96-98); "Zur Vorgeschichte des Konzils von Vienna" (ALKG, II, 253-416, III, 1-195).

⁶ *Acta Apos. Sedis*, XXI (1921), 494.

Among his labors at this time was the restoration of worm-eaten, time-worn and dilapidated codices, in the interest of which he convoked in 1898 (September 3-October 1) a conference at St. Gallen (Cf. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 16 [1898], 27-44, 26 [1909], 245-263). He arranged for the acquisition of the Barberini and other private libraries, aided in the discovery of many valuable manuscripts and finally made the purchase of the Randi numismatic collection. A number of his publications at that time show how well versed the Jesuit Prefect of the Vatican Library was with the important charge entrusted to him.⁷

His superb knowledge of sources he was always willing to share with others occupied in the same field. In fact it might be said that no modern author has given greater impetus to the study of the proper care, arrangement and conservation of national and ecclesiastical archives than Cardinal Ehrle. In 1922, he published a formula for the safeguarding and use of these archives and libraries—*Forma di Regolamento per la custodia e l'uso degli Archivi e delle Biblioteche ecclesiastiche*. These norms appeared the following year in a revised edition as an accompaniment to Cardinal Pietro Gasparri's circular to the Bishops of Italy concerning the conservation of ecclesiastical documents. It was due to his efforts likewise that a special course on archives and their care (*Archivistica*) was introduced as part of the curriculum of the Vatican School of Palaeography and Diplomatics. Cardinal Ehrle was ably assisted in this by the late Professor Bruno Katterbach, O. F. M., who was in charge of the School for some years.

Interest in the Vatican Library and publication of various matters pertaining thereto naturally forced Father Ehrle to sacrifice the time he would gladly have devoted to his great work on scholasticism; nevertheless, he was able in the midst of his labors to give to the historical world a new edition of the *Chronica* of Martino de Alpartils, pertaining to the life and times of Benedict XIII. In collaboration with E. Stevenson Jr. he edited (1897) a phototype reproduction of the beautiful frescoes of Pinturicchio in the Borgia Apartments, phototype editions of previous old codices and rare antique plans and maps of Rome with appropriate introductions and

⁷ "Über die Erhaltung und Ausbesserung alter Handschriften" (*Zentralblatt*, XV, 1898, 17-33), reprinted in Italian under the caption: "Della conservazione e del restauro dei manoscritti antichi," in the *Rivista della Biblioteche e degli Archivi*, IX, 5-11, 19-25; and in French, by L. Dorez: "Sur la conservation et la restauration des anciens manuscrits," in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, VIII, 152-172. Other references to this part of his labors will be found in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 16 (1898), 27-44, 26 (1909), 245-263; *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, LIX, 479-495; "Das Vatikanische Archiv und die Vatikanische Bibliothek in ihrer Bedeutung für die Wissenschaften," in *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 1910, Nr. 261; "Bibliothekstechnisches aus der Vaticana" (*Zentralblatt*, XXXIII, 1916, 197-227).

erudite commentaries and various catalogues of manuscripts to be found in the Archives and Library of the Vatican and other Papal palaces.⁸ At the request of their bishops, the Prefect of the Vatican Library directed the restoration and proper classification of the diocesan capitular archives of Ravenna, Vercelli and Ivrea.

At this time Father Ehrle began collecting materials for a history of the Vatican Library and Palace, but owing to the tremendous labors imposed on him, this valuable work had to be abandoned. No doubt, through the care of the Jesuits and under the direction of Father Franz Pelster, S. J., Professor at the Gregorian University, Rome, who has charge of the deceased Cardinal's manuscripts, we may still be favored with several posthumous works of this great scholar. Desiring to be relieved of his arduous duties, Ehrle petitioned Pius X in 1911, to accept his resignation; but the pope refused. He did however consent to give Ehrle as Vice-Prefect, with the right of succession, the well-known Prefect of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, Monsignor Achille Ratti, later Pope Pius XI. In 1914, by repeated earnest requests, Ehrle finally succeeded in having Monsignor Ratti named as his successor.

Father Ehrle thereupon retired to the seat of the recently founded Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, hoping to find there the quiet and the leisure he longed for to put into effect his great literary plans; but the World War broke out soon afterwards, and in 1915, his superiors judged it prudent for him to leave Italy. After a short stay at Feldkirch at Eastertide in 1916, he went to Munich where he hoped to delve into the famous Bavarian libraries in quest of further historical material. Already in the winter of 1916, however, he was commissioned to take over the direction and publication of the *Stimmen der Zeit*, a continuation of the *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, to which some forty years previous he had already contributed many of his early literary essays. In the spring of 1918, relieved of the heavy burden of directing the *Stimmen*, Father Ehrle was again free to devote his time and talents to other literary works. Among the fruits his genius produced at this time was a collection of ancient statutes (1364) of the Theological Faculty of Bologna, published in 1932, and several historical monographs concerning scholasticism, especially a study on Pietro di Candia, the Franciscan Pisan Pope, Alexander V.⁹

In the autumn of 1919, by the express wish of Benedict XV, Father Ehrle was recalled to Rome. Taking up again his residence at the Biblical Pontifical Institute, he gave a regular course of lectures on the study

⁸ For example, "Un Catalogo fin qui sconosciuto della Bibliotheca Papale d'Avignone (1407)," in *Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909, 97-114).

⁹ *Franziskanische Studien*, Beiheft 9, Münster, 1924.

of paleography and diplomatics, a subject in which few were better versed. Already in 1912, in conjunction with Paul Liebaert, he had published at Bonn a selection of phototyped reprints from Vatican manuscripts and codices illustrating the various periods of ancient and medieval forms of writing, under the title: *Specimina Codicum Latinorum Vaticanorum*, which is still used in the Vatican School of Paleography. In November, 1919, Father Ehrle took a prominent part in the formation of a *Cursus Magisterii* at the Gregorian University intended not only for a more thorough study of the history of scholasticism, which he himself imparted, but likewise in the form of a *Seminar*, for the practical writing and printing of literary essays on the part of his graduate students. Father Ehrle was thus among the first to inaugurate in Roman universities the much lamented desideratum of the so-called *Seminars*, already introduced in almost all universities throughout the world, and finally made obligatory for the Roman Pontifical universities in virtue of the decree on University Studies, *Deus Scientiarum Dominus* of May 14, 1931. It was with great satisfaction that Father Ehrle witnessed the formation of the Jesuits' *Schola Scriptorum* at their new Curia building in Rome, one of the fruits of which is the publication of the recently established quarterly, the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*.

On December 11, 1922, His Holiness Pope Pius XI, now gloriously reigning, saw fit to reward the literary merits and activities of Father Ehrle by elevating his former predecessor as Prefect of the Vatican Library to the high dignity and rank of Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church, appointing him to the Church of San Cesareo in Palatio. Father Ehrle was thus among the first Cardinals created by Pius XI in his first Consistory. On the occasion of the imposition of the red hat, Pius XI exalted the merits of Cardinal Ehrle during the twenty years of his faithful service in the Vatican Library. He commented especially on Cardinal Ehrle's "meraviglioso lavoro di riorganizzazione" of the Vatican Library which attracted to Rome distinguished men of letters from every quarter of the globe. Cardinal Ehrle was soon appointed to various Roman Congregations such as the Oriental Church, Rites, Ceremonies, Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, Seminaries and University Studies, the Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Pietro and the Pontifical Commission for Biblical Studies. To all of these the venerable Cardinal gave lavishly of his time and talents. On the occasion of Ehrle's eightieth birthday Pius XI once more gave public testimony of the high esteem in which he held the Cardinal by directing, as several years previous Benedict XV had done, a letter dated October 1, 1924, praising him for his "tam praeclara in Ecclesia inque studia humanitatis et litterarum promerita." It was on this occasion that Cardinal Ehrle's friends throughout the world conceived the idea of editing in his honor the *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, a work of five vol-

umes, with an introductory *Album*, in which renowned men of letters dedicated each an essay on a subject in which he was particularly versed. The collection of these essays prefaced by an Apostolic Letter of Pops Pius XI, form not only a most valuable symposium but also the quintessence of everything that at the beginning of the twentieth century was new in research on subjects in which Cardinal Ehrle was particularly interested: to use the words of the Committee—"Les sujets traités devront entrer dans le cadre, largement compris, des études auxquelles s'est consacré le P. Ehrle: Histoire ecclésiastique et civile du Bas Moyen-Age et de la Renaissance, histoire et science des bibliothèques, paléographie." The languages permissible were German, English, Spanish, French, Italian and Latin. Among the British and American contributors were: Th. W. Allen, Oxford University; Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago; F. C. Burkitt, University of Cambridge; Charles Homer Haskins, Harvard University; A. G. Little, Risborough; E. A. Lowe, Oxford University; Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University; Alexander Souter, University of Aberdeen; C. H. Turner, University of Oxford; and J. A. Twemlow, University of Liverpool. There was also an English essay by Masaharu Anesaki of the University of Tokyo.

Besides these literary contributions practically every university, religious Order, and society of note, either as a corporative body or through their respective representatives, gave a purse amounting to 71,364 *lire* of which, after the deduction of preliminary and other expenses (*e. g.* for the publication of the *Miscellanea*), 35,564 *lire* were handed over to the highly esteemed octogenarian for his own disposition. Cardinal Ehrle used the money to procure new acquisitions for the *Sala Leonina di Consultatione* (the Leonine Hall of Reference Works) of the Vatican Library, which under papal supervision he had designed, constructed and amplified.¹⁰

¹⁰ Among these contributors, to mention only a few of the British or American birth, were: P. S. Allen, Merton College, Oxford; Thomas W. Allen, Queen's College, Oxford; Thomas Ashby, Director of the British School of Rome; Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago; Alan England Brooke, King's College, Cambridge; E. Cuthbert Butler, O. S. B., Abbot, Downside; Albert C. Clark, Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Arthur Ernest Cowley, Librarian, the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Monsignor Augustin Dontenwill, Superior General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Rome; J. P. Gilson, Keeper of Mss. and Egerton Librarian, British Museum, London; J. Rendel Harris, Curator of Mss. in the John Rylands Library, Manchester; Charles Homer Haskins, Harvard University; J. A. Herbert, London; Rhodes Montague James, Provost of Eton College; Kirsopp Lake, Harvard University; Wallace Martin Lindsay, University of St. Andrew; Arthur J. Little, Risborough; Elias Avery Lowe, Oxford; Norman MacLean, Christ College, Cambridge; Jackson Maclehose and Co., Glasgow; Falconer Madan, formerly Sub-Librarian, the Bodleian Library, Oxford; P. Elias Magennis, Superior-General of the Calced Car-

The Cardinal often mentioned in the most friendly terms such men as Professor Charles H. Beeson of the University of Chicago, and Charles Homer Haskins and Edward Kennard Rand, both of Harvard. The same was true of his friendly relations with other men of learning in the United States and throughout the rest of the world. He was either member or honorary doctor of practically every important European seat of learning. In 1899, the University of Oxford conferred on him the honorary title of Doctor of Civil Law; in 1903, he became a member of the Advisory Committee of the Paleographical Society and honorary Doctor of Letters of the University of Cambridge; in 1909, Vice-President of the Henry Bradshaw Society for editing rare liturgical texts. In 1929, following the death of Cardinal Gasquet, Pope Pius XI named Cardinal Ehrle successor to the illustrious English Benedictine as Librarian and Archivist of the Holy Roman Church. It thus happened that Cardinal Ehrle returned to his beloved Vatican Library and Archives over which he had once presided as Prefect. It was in this capacity that he assisted at the final examination and signed the diplomas of successful graduate students who had attended the two years' course of Paleography and Diplomatics in the Pontifical School of the Vatican Archives.

One of the deep sorrows of his life was the collapse of the roof of the Vatican Library on December 22, 1931, which practically destroyed the Leonine Hall of Consultation and the greater part of the Show Room (Sala Grande) of the Vatican Library. Wise protective measures through the immediate throwing up of a temporary roof saved hundreds of priceless volumes which otherwise would have been ruined by the torrential

melites, Rome; Elmer T. Merrill, University of Chicago; John Pierpont Morgan, New York; P. Patrick Murray, Superior-General of the Redemptorists, Rome; P. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Rector of St. Bonaventure's College, St. Bonaventure, New York; Reginald Lane Poole, Magdalen College, Oxford; Public Record Office, London; Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University; James Gerould Thayer, Librarian, Princeton University; Sir Herbert Thompson; Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, formerly Director of the British Museum; Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, Ireland Professor of Exegesis, Oxford; J. A. Twemlow, University of Liverpool; Professor Van Buren, Librarian of the American Academy, Rome; George F. Warner, formerly Keeper of the Mss. in British Museum and Professor W. H. Woodward, London. Among the contributors of corporative bodies in the British Isles and North America were: Harvard College Library; General Library, University of Michigan; British Museum; the Jesuit College for Philosophic Studies, Jersey; the Province of St. Joseph, Capuchin Fathers, Detroit; the Province of the Holy Name, Franciscan Fathers, Patterson, N. J. The mere list of these names is more than sufficient to convey to the reader the high esteem in which Cardinal Ehrle was held by men of letters and educational institutions throughout the English-speaking world.

rains which unfortunately prevailed in Rome at the time. In 1933, Cardinal Ehrle had the pleasure of seeing both the Consultation Hall and the Show-Room of the Library rebuilt and decorated.

The long life Providence generously accorded to the aged prelate—he was in his eighty-ninth year at the time of his death—was resplendent with glory for the Society of Jesus of which he remained always a devoted and humble member, as well as for the Sacred College of Cardinals and for the Church in general. His name will remain indelibly in the annals of historical and ecclesiastical literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His funeral took place on April 5, 1934, at the Church of the Jesuits, Sant' Ignazio, where St. Aloysius, St. John Berchmans, and his illustrious predecessor in the Apostolic College, St. Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, lie buried. No more fitting tribute could have been offered to one whose literary and scientific fame is known the world over.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. M. Conv.

BOOK REVIEWS

Geschichte der führenden Völker. Band VI: *Römische Geschichte.* Erste Hälfte: *Die römische Republik.* Von JOSEPH VOGT. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder and Co. 1932. Pp. 350. \$3.15.)

In the History of the Leading Peoples, of which several instalments have been reviewed in these pages, two volumes have been assigned to the history of Rome. The Würzburg professor of ancient history, Dr. Joseph Vogt, in the sixth volume tells the story of the Roman Republic, closing his account with the establishment of the Principate of Augustus (27 B. C.).

After two introductory chapters on the physical geography and pre-Roman history of Italy the drama of the Roman Republic unfolds itself in three acts: The Republic and Italy, the Republic and the Mediterranean, the Republic and world dominion. The first part makes us acquainted with the most recent views on Roman origins, with the expansion of the sturdy peasant state over the Italian peninsula, and with the formation of the Italian federation. In the second part the Punic Wars and the extension of Roman control over the Hellenic East occupy the center of the stage. Finally we hear of internal convulsions, of the decay of democratic organization, of the emergence of exceptional leaders and dictatorships, and of the simultaneous expansion into regions beyond the Mediterranean littoral.

The author wisely does not attempt to crowd into the relatively few pages allowed him by the general plan of the series as much detail as possible, but instead he everywhere elaborates the salient features of that unique period in history. We are never allowed to forget what really matters, the permanent contributions of Rome, her peculiar genius for organization and government, her constant sober weighing of practical possibilities, her instinctive perception of the nature of politics as "the art of the possible," in Bismarck's pithy phrase. The Roman legacy to mankind in law and organization, in the extension of the ordered processes of civilized life over a wide area, stands out from these pages as in few other works of the same modest size. The treatment of Rome's reaction to Greek culture, whether this reaction was mere imitation or modified reproduction, is particularly good. In the story of internal political development the reader who follows the gradual decline of the aristocracy, the rise of a reckless and frequently shortsighted democracy, the consequent refuge to one-man government, will admire the author's unusual gift of marshalling a large mass of apparently disjointed facts into orderly array.

Incidentally, too, in view of certain contemporary phenomena, he will more than once indulge in reflexions over history's repetitions. How old and yet how modern is the story of republican Rome!

Very interesting, too, is the author's analysis of the motives of Roman expansion. He does not see these motives in purely economic considerations, but rather in certain fundamental traits of the Roman character, before wealth and success and cosmopolitanism caused it to deteriorate. The original Roman was a sturdy peasant, vigorous, tenacious, and essentially practical. These traits made him expect success from prolonged endeavor rather than from the windfalls of good fortune. He had, moreover, a profound sense of justice and legality, also in his relations with neighboring states. This prevented him from rashly undertaking aggressive wars and taught him that the victor, too, has obligations towards the vanquished. The terms of peace, at least during the period of the Italian conquests, usually permitted the continued existence of the defeated state, entered into some kind of alliance with it, either with or without the recognition of Rome's predominance. Gradually political skill managed to reduce these *foederati* to the condition of subjects without violating too flagrantly the existing treaties, always careful to have at least the appearance of right on the Roman side. With political and military success there came the belief in the mission of the fatherland to subject and to govern backward barbarians. Especially the upper classes fervently embraced this creed and sought distinction for themselves and their families as successful administrators of distant lands.

The present volume makes fascinating reading. The author has his subject so perfectly in hand that despite the mass of detail and the constantly growing field of action we are never permitted to lose sight of the main issues. Even the style is under the spell of Rome. With clarity and precision, with dignity and stateliness, the phrases and periods march on like the serried ranks of the Roman legionnaires. In the opinion of the reviewer of all the volumes of the series which have so far appeared this is the best.

ALFRED KAUFMANN, S. J.

Creighton University.

St. Thomas Aquinas. By G. K. CHESTERTON. (New York: Sheed & Ward, Inc. 1933. Pp. xii, 248.)

The three great results of the World War are the bankruptcy of materialism, the exposure of the emptiness of idealism, and the ardent desire and earnest endeavor of a disillusioned world to seek a finer and saner basis for progress. The pessimism of materialism and the sterility of spiritual monism or subjectivism have shot their last bolt after some four

hundred years of vaunted supremacy. They are gone or just going, and in their stead there is a new awakening. One has but to look about for evidence of this fact. The fascists' movement in parts of Europe, the extreme and last struggle of materialism as seen in Sovietism, the New Deal here in our own United States, are attempts toward a readjustment; some vain, some drastic, and some temperate—but all attempts toward that synthesis which the pessimism of Luther and Calvin destroyed at the beginning of the Protestant Revolt.

To begin anew needs wise guidance as well as concerted action. Never before has a conscious quest of a philosophy that satisfies been more sincere than is the one that is rising at this time. To expect a people who have been wandering for the last four hundred years away from Scholastic philosophy to accept and plumb its depths at once is to proclaim one's ignorance of the psychology of conversion. They must be given first the science in germinal form and under proper guidance which, coupled with their own good will, will realize for them that needed incorporation.

It is for reasons such as given above that make Mr. Chesterton's volume on St. Thomas a treatise of inestimable worth. Apperceptively he introduces the reader to the subtle mind of St. Thomas through the work of the better known St. Francis. The thinker is shown to have the same objectives as the worker. Many there are outside the Catholic Church who know and admire the work of the Little Francis and now they are able to see that the philosophy that made the labors of Francis a phenomenal success is the philosophy that will enable them to triumph in the social, physical, economic and moral problems that are theirs. The significance of this volume as a key to the philosophy of St. Thomas cannot now be evaluated—time alone can tell of its germinal worth.

LEO L. MCVAY.

Catholic University of America.

La Chiesa Caldea nel Secolo dell'Unione. By MGR. GIUSEPPE BELTRAMI. (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, *Orientalia Christiana*, XXIX, n. 83. 1933. Pp. xvi, 283. Lire 45.)

Mgr. Beltrami, archivist of the Apostolic Chancery of Papal Briefs, has given us with the present volume a study of great importance for Church history in general and of especial interest for the history of the Oriental United rites. This work contains the history of the pontifical mission to the schismatic Chaldeans (1553-1564) which resulted in the definite formation of the United Chaldean Church.

The first chapter treats of the necessary events preceding the mission, and thus a solid background is presented to those not specialized in this matter. Attempts had been made in the middle of the thirteenth century

to bring the schismatic Chaldeans into union with Holy Mother Church, but without lasting effects. Then in 1552 the double election of the patriarch of the Chaldean Church only served to increase the dissensions already existing among the Chaldeans. The better of the two newly-elected patriarchs, Simon Sulāqā, made his way to Rome and submitted himself to then reigning Pope, Julius III, who with joy received him into the fold of the Church. The Pope, seizing this splendid opportunity to bring the schismatic Chaldeans back to the Church after a thousand years of their Nestorian heresy, chose two Dominican friars and, having elevated them to the episcopacy, delegated them to return with the patriarch and assist him in forming the United Chaldean Church. In the three succeeding chapters we find the pontifical mission laboring in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Malabar. The patriarch was crowned with martyrdom in 1555 but the two Dominicans continued successfully in their labors to form a United Chaldean hierarchy. One of the missionary Dominicans, Ambrose Buttigeg, died in 1561, and the other, Antonine Zahara, was recalled by the Holy See in 1563. Thus the pontifical mission was at an end after having placed a strong foundation for the United Chaldean Church. Mgr. Beltrami could have concluded his work at this point but for greater utility he continued the history of the Chaldean Church in Mesopotamia to the end of the sixteenth century (chap. V, pp. 59-85), and the history of the Church in Malabar during the same period (chap. VI, pp. 86-137).

In the course of this present work the Vatican documents pertaining to the subject in question have been thoroughly investigated and pp. 141-272 contain the more necessary of these documents. The extensive bibliography (pp. ix-xv) clearly demonstrates that the printed matter dealing with the subject has not been neglected and throughout the book this matter has been judiciously used. A clear style renders this work, so rich with research, very interesting.

PATRICK GAUCHAT, O.M.C.

Rome, Italy.

Die Abrüstung. By J. P. STEFFES. (Cologne, Germany: Gelde-Verlag. 1932. Pp. xi, 161.)

In the mass of printed matter dealing with the question of disarmament there are but few works of lasting influence and enduring importance. Most works treat only one side of the question; either the ever-increasing volume of arguments supported with formidable statistical proof—to argue the need of their complete destruction, or the most realistic description of the horrors of the future wars—to insist upon the need of greater preparedness, consequently of more and bigger armaments.

The little volume under review is a wholesale exception to the above statement, and is a work which will have a lasting importance. It was written by a Catholic priest and appeared in the Catholic series on German political thought early in 1932. Within a few months it had three editions, and finally toward the end of 1933 it was translated into English. Unfortunately the translation was made in Germany, consequently English-speaking students of the disarmament question are little familiar with it. A British or American edition of the English text would have increased the number of readers manifold.

The book is divided into two equal parts. The first part deals with the theory of disarmament, the second with the practical application of the theory. It is supplemented with an excellent bibliography. Through the whole the author discusses the problem of disarmament not from the narrow view of a single nation but as the problem which faces humanity. For there is good reason to fear "that a new (world) war would be tantamount to the extinction of culture and civilization." In a chapter, brilliant in its compactness, the author shows in historical retrospect that mankind never was without the idea of disarmament and universal peace.

In this desire for peace and disarmament humanity is lead by two principles: religion and philosophy. The author therefore takes us throughout the world, and carefully analyzes the present-day world religions with regard to their idealistic and practical attitude towards disarmament and universal peace. Beginning with the Far East and Buddhism to the West and Christianity all religions, creeds and denominations are carefully analyzed. His conclusion is "that both the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church tend unquestionably to peace among men." And "it is in its capacity of a World-Church that Catholicism is and remains a basis and guarantee of World-Peace."

In the analysis of the philosophic view as an underlying principle of world peace and disarmament the author groups his arguments under four headings: State; Force; Creative powers of War; Mind and Might. His conclusion is that "among all nations within the circle of European culture we come across prominent intellectuals who from a more or less deep comprehension proclaim the supremacy of spiritual unity over might, directly or indirectly preparing the war for a state of world-reconciliation and universal peace. Blended with these are the voices of the East . . . which . . . display a strong opposition to any kind of force and warfare."

In the second half of the book the practical questions of disarmament are analyzed and answered in two groups. The first takes up the views and arguments against disarmament, as Security, Self-defence, International Guarantees. The second group shows the present trend of public opinion toward disarmament, and urges that the churches and schools should educate mankind to a new attitude as regards their con-

ceptions of the State, politics, and economy, to realize their true affinity across national differences, and to believe in the might and majesty of peace. If this task is accomplished then people "will not tolerate among any of their members such a dividing and destroying agent as war, but will look only towards peace—the agent of unity and creation."

To accomplish this a definite first step must be made: an actual, unconditional material reduction of armaments. This first step will assure security and safety, and will prepare for a spiritual disarmament, which in turn will finish this insane race of armaments forever. We close this review with the question of the author "will governments rightly interpret their opportunity?"

TIBOR KEREKES.

Georgetown University.

The Portuguese Pioneers. By EDGAR PRESTAGE, M. A., D. Litt. [*The Pioneer Histories.*] (London: A. & G. Black. 1933. Pp. xiv, 352.)

This is one of a series of volumes in course of publication under the general title of *The Pioneer Histories* and under the joint editorship of V. T. Harlow, M. A., and J. A. Williamson, D. Litt. As announced by the editors in their preface, the series is "intended to provide broad surveys of the great migrations of European peoples—for purposes of trade, conquest and settlement—into the non-European continents. They aim at describing a racial expansion which has created the complex world of today, so nationalistic in its instincts, so internationalized in its relationships." Except for wide oceans to be crossed in their ventures, Europeans after 1400 opened new trade routes and swept over new continents in much the same way as a thousand years earlier peoples from the East overran the tottering empire of pagan Rome. In both cases it was also a migration of Christianity—an enrollment of new members into the fold of Christ and an extension of the limits of the kingdom of Christ. Unless by climatic changes its two poles become habitable, our globe has now been circled and Christianity extended to nearly all its inhabitants.

As far as lasting results go, the modern "invasion" of the "New World" was launched by Portugal in the beginning of the fifteenth century when Ceuta was conquered from the Moors and made Portugal's base of exploration in and around the continent of Africa. For this reason the volume entitled *The Portuguese Pioneers* may be properly regarded as the first in *The Pioneer Histories* series. In it Dr. Prestage recounts in an interesting manner the exploits of Portuguese mariners and explorers in Africa and the Far East during the fifteenth century, up to the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, and during the first half of the sixteenth century, up to the time Portugal began to weaken as a

maritime power and holder of overseas possessions. As indicated by the author in his Introduction, the larger portion of the volume deals with the exploring enterprises of Portugal during the fifteenth century. Being told in detail, this portion is necessarily more fascinating than the other. Thus, for instance, the second chapter relating the conquest and occupation of Ceuta makes delightful reading; also the sixth and seventh chapters describing the two eventful voyages of Cadamosto, and the equally stirring account of Da Gama's two voyages presented in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters. The author's purpose was not to enter at length into the spiritual achievements of Portuguese missionaries in Africa and the Far East. Still, in the course of his narrative, he frequently refers to this phase of the enterprises, recognizing that, as he says, "the Portuguese monarchs were also crusaders and evangelisers" (p. 299).

The Portuguese Pioneers is the only monograph in English dealing with this subject. Hence the volume has a special value for the student of history, aside from the fact that Dr. Prestage is a leading authority on the history of Portugal and may therefore be relied upon for what is offered in this volume. The numerous footnote references to sources not only create confidence in the author but likewise make it possible for the student to draw up for his own use a rich and valuable bibliography. There are four map drawings, the one of the world with Portuguese ventures traced in red being especially serviceable.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M.

Catholic University of America.

A History of Canada. By CARL WITKE, A. M., Ph. D., Professor of History, The Ohio State University. (Revised Edition, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1933. Pp. 443.)

This revised edition of Professor Wittke's narrative is probably the best serviceable for a survey course in modern Canadian history. It is evidently the work of a scholar who not only masters his subject but enjoys the additional advantage of class-room experience. There is a clear-cut division of the entire matter, while each chapter with its marginal sub-topics is a well-arranged exposition of the general topic under discussion. With Professor Trotter's well-known *Syllabus and Guide*, as the author of the present volume suggests, teachers and students will find *A History of Canada* a splendid text for courses in Canadian history since 1763. At the same time, the volume is written in an easy and pleasant style; wherefore it will appeal also to the lay reader.

In the first three chapters Professor Wittke sketches the history of New France, by which name the territory was known during the French regime. Here we find that he spells the name of Louis Jolliet with one "l" (the explorer himself spelled it with two), that he employs the terms "Recol-

lects" and "Franciscans" to denote the same body of missionaries (the name "Recollects" is now obsolete), and that he has Father Allouez remaining twenty-five years in "the Lake Superior country" (after about 1675 he was among the Illinois and Miami Indians). These are minor defects that might be corrected in a future edition of the work.

As already indicated, the volume is professedly a history of Canadian affairs during the national period, from 1763 to the present day. In twenty-eight chapters it traces the rise and progress of Canadian nationality, beginning with the Treaty of Paris of 1763, when New France became a British possession, down through the nineteenth century to our own day when we see Canada a confederated commonwealth of States and a practically autonomous Dominion of the British Commonwealth. It is the story of a people, racially different but politically united, struggling for self-government against foreign imperial control. While relating how in the face of domestic as well as foreign obstacles this political independence was gradually achieved, Professor Wittke takes cognizance also of those factors that figure so prominently in the achievement of independence. Hence he devotes special chapters to portrayals of social and economic conditions and of foreign relations as they obtained before and after the Confederation of 1867. Thus the volume under review presents a comprehensive, well-balanced, and impartial history of our neighbors to the North, whose domestic interests are so intimately bound up with our own.

Each chapter of the volume has a "Select Bibliography" and in an Appendix (pp. 395-425) are printed the British North America Acts of 1867, 1871, 1886, 1907, and 1915. There are six very serviceable maps in black and white, while one in colors, representing the Dominion of Canada, forms the frontispiece.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M.

Catholic University of America.

History of Germany: People and State Through a Thousand Years.

By HERMANN PINNOW. Translated by Mabel Richmond Brailsford.
(New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. viii, 473. \$2.75.)

The German original of this book, *Deutsche Geschichte*, published at Berlin in 1929, was accorded a flattering reception. Present interest in the recent political and social upheaval in Germany has turned the attention of the English-speaking world to the pages of German history. Consequently, the publication of Dr. Pinnow's work in English is especially welcome. Pinnow finds, in the liberation of the Eastern Franks from Carolingian rule in 911, a parallel to the departure from traditional forms of government at Weimar in 1919. These two momentous changes in the direction of German political life, mark the beginning and the end

of the author's "thousand years." The differences between governmental institutions of the two periods are the result of the evolution which he describes, an evolution not only political, but economic and social as well. The author begins with "an account of the daily life and work of the people, and leads up, through the alterations in social structure and intellectual changes, to the formation of the State" (p. 4). Although the story he tells is essentially that of the formation of modern Europe, Dr. Pinnow has succeeded better than might be expected in enclosing between the covers of his book the main outlines of that development and of the changes in the social structure which accompanied it.

The principal charm of this book lies in its well-balanced composition. The importance of economic changes is not over-emphasized, although these changes receive their proper share of attention. In this connection, the influence of *Der moderne Kapitalismus* of Sombart is evident. On the other hand, intellectual development and the evolution of the social order are given more extended treatment than is always the case in similar studies, which too often confine themselves to a discussion of the rise and fall of dynasties and the fortunes of military campaigns. These latter are not neglected, but are rather de-emphasized for the better understanding of their fundamental causes and ultimate results.

The perennial accusation that has plagued the Catholic Church for so many centuries is revived by a statement (p. 94) that during the eleventh century: ". . . the worship of the saints and their relics became more and more widespread. . . ." The volume under discussion is a translation; the regrettable use of "worship" for "veneration" may therefore be the fault of either author or translator.

In purely mechanical respects, the book is quite satisfactory. The format is pleasing to the eye and but few typographical errors have been noted. The work of the translator is particularly to be commended. Miss Brailsford's narrative flows smoothly, while retaining the style and flavor of the original.

JOHN J. MENG.

Catholic University of America.

Blessed Spinoza: A Biography. By LEWIS BROWNE. (New York: Macmillan. 1932. Pp. xiii, 334. \$4.00.)

This is a romantic biography—that is, a book in which sentiment and imagination play a large part. The dominant sentiments are a devout admiration for Spinoza and an ill-concealed antipathy towards the adherents of supernatural religion. These sentiments often manifest themselves. The author's imagination also is frequently brought into play. Extremely little is known for certain about Spinoza. The known facts of his early life might be stated in a few short paragraphs. A single

paragraph suffices in Richard McKeon's work (*The Philosophy of Spinoza*, p. 21) and some of the statements in that paragraph are not put forward as absolutely certain. In the present biography the few certainties of Spinoza's youth will be found strewn through five chapters or 144 pages. These chapters are padded with matters only remotely related with Spinoza's life. For example, the first chapter deals with the Spanish inquisition, Spanish and Portuguese Jews prior and consequent to their exile at Amsterdam. Their good qualities are brought into relief. One hypothetical sentence relates to the unknown progenitors of Spinoza. The succeeding chapters are likewise padded. Through these chapters we follow at intervals the imaginative construction of Spinoza's youth. The author's favorite formula, in fact, seems to be "One imagines." This is often backed up with a "probably," a "perhaps," a "possibly" or a "not impossibly," a "we may conjecture," a "may have been" or a "must have been" (cf. pp. 12, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 66, 67, etc., these formulae will be found as late in the book as pp. 295, 299). We are treated even to conjectures regarding Spinoza's sex life though neither history nor Freudian criteria, as it seems, have anything definite to reveal. The second part of the book is on the whole more factual; but conjecture and imagination still play a part, for the fact is that for the second period of Spinoza's life we have, in McKeon's words, "information in a sense definite but as inconclusive" as in the earlier period.

The title of the book proclaims it a biography and a formal statement to that effect is made on page 184. On that page also the author disclaims any purpose of offering a philosophic commentary. Yet he feels it indispensable, as is natural, to give an account of Spinoza's system of thought. He proceeds accordingly to do so. His interpretation is then delivered in an authoritative tone. There is no suggestion that there has been considerable diversity of opinion among Spinoza's interpreters; that his philosophical method is obsolete; that his theory of knowledge is inadequate; that there was anything gratuitous in his primary assumptions or that men like Leibnitz found his *Ethics* replete with paralogsms. For Browne it would seem that the system, stated as it is by him in its crudest form, is perfect. "Twelve long years Spinoza had labored interruptedly on that book (the *Ethics*); but at last it was done; not a paragraph in it but had been repeatedly revised, not a sentence but had again and again been rewritten. And now the whole thing stood there like a beautiful Greek temple, each stone in its walls accurately hewn and perfectly laid, all the columns symmetrically spaced and unshakably grounded." Serious students of the history of philosophy need not delay over this book.

P. J. BARRY.

Huntington, L. I.

The Political Life and Letters of Cavour, 1848-1861. By A. J. WHYTE, M. A., Litt. D. (London: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 478.)

In this account of the public career of Cavour, which completes the biography begun in the *Early Life and Letters of Cavour* published by the same author in 1925, Mr. Whyte evidently aims to show that the "tortuous policies" pursued by the Piedmontese statesman of the Risorgimento, were "alien from the character of the man," and were "forced upon him by the meagerness of his country's resources," and by the "distrust, jealousy, nervousness, and fear of revolution which characterized the policy of the great Powers" after 1848.

The details of the account certainly show the immense difficulties of Cavour's task, and the resourcefulness, courage, self-control, and persistence with which he met them; but they hardly show that duplicity was alien to his character. That Cavour was something of a cynic in his view of the ethics of public policies would appear from a remark of his quoted somewhere by Gooch, to the effect that if men in private life were to do things that are commonplaces in public policy, they would deserve to be classified as rogues.

Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, as Mr. Whyte tells us, was by birth an aristocrat, one of the most successful agriculturalists in his country, with varied industrial and financial interests, and a keen student of economics, industry and foreign politics. There is little in the account to show that his outlook was other than a wholly secularist one, so far as social and political questions were concerned. In the opinion of his biographer, Cavour's "subconscious mentality was Protestant," a Huguenot inheritance from his mother's family, though the Catholic zeal on the father's side was shown by an elder brother, the Marquis Gustavo.

This work had the advantage of the use of material in a systematically edited recent publication by the Royal Commission of Cavour's papers, letters and memoranda, the first four volumes of which, covering the years 1851-61, were here used. Of special importance as revealing England's changing attitude toward Italy from the early Tory caution in adhering to the settlements of the Congress of Vienna to the British non-intervention policy after the peace of Zurich, were the private letters of Sir James Hudson to Lord Clarendon 1852-1861, from Cavour's first assumption of the premiership to the end. During this time Sir James, as British representative, was a close personal friend of Cavour, and a successful pleader for the latter's aims with Lord Salisbury through Clarendon. The *Carteggio-Cavour-Nigra*, covering 1858-1861, containing correspondence of Cavour with his confidential agent at Paris, throws light upon Cavour's policy toward France, and indirectly upon some expedients he resorted to in covering up his relations with Garibaldi. With the aid of this

material the picture of Napoleon III as the mere "dupe of Cavour," drawn by historians in the interest of both French republicanism and Italian vanity, is considerably modified. Napoleon sincerely desired Italian independence, but on the problem of Italian unity sought to avoid responsibility for Piedmontese collusion with conspirators and insurrectionists.

Mr. Whyte uses his material well in illustrating the consummate skill, the courage, the frequent moderation and personal self-effacement of Cavour's statecraft. Mr. Whyte divides the public career of Cavour into three main periods. In the first, he combined the moderate Right with the moderate Left in a bloc which became famous as the "Connubio"; he continued the development of the constitutional character of the Piedmontese State connecting the program with confiscatory policies and suppression of the convents; he defied the demands of Austria that political refugees be handed over to her and that press censorship be exercised; and he succeeded in securing Piedmont's representation at the Congress of Paris after the Crimean War. His crowning triumph at the congress was the alienation of European moral sentiment from Austria, and the convincing of Napoleon that war with Austria was unavoidable. The next phase was the preparation for the war with Austria, the victories of Magenta and Solferino, and the peace of Villafranca, concluded by the three monarchs without Cavour's knowledge. The third and last phase was that of Cavour's policy of "non-intervention," purchased from France by the cession of Nice and Savoy, and won from England by the consummate skill of Cavour in playing to British sympathy for constitutionalism and British anti-papal sentiment. As one instance of the equivocations in which Cavour was involved by his secret complicity in Garibaldi's expedition to Palermo and Naples, he did not scruple to deceive Nigra, his confidential agent in Paris, and to sow suspicion in France of British designs to set up a protectorate for Sicily with Garibaldi's help (p. 388).

Cavour died in 1861, under papal excommunication, nearly ten years before the breach in the gate of the Porta Pia, murmuring "Italy is made, all is safe." He had instructed Fra Giacomo, his almoner, to give him the last rites of the Church "no matter what happened." This was in 1855, when the bill for the convents was passed. Fra Giacomo, "braving the thunder of the Vatican" according to Mr. Whyte, fulfilled the request. If Whyte's view that Cavour was "subconsciously Protestant" in belief is correct, the arrangement Cavour made is easily understood: Cavour in that case intended to make a final gesture of affinity with Anglican "non-papal Catholicism." One might almost say he was literally an Anglophile to his last breath.

Mr. Whyte's biography is a clear presentation of the Italian Risorgimento as seen from the windows of Cavour's official chambers in Turin.

To do justice to the Piedmontese statesman, Italian independence took precedence of Italian unity in his policy (p. 374). He was ready, even in 1859, to propose a union of Florence, Naples, and Piedmont. His interest in liberalism, however, was the speculative interest of a conservative living in a revolutionary period and convinced of laissez-faire political economy. He thought of the Church as an entrenched vested interest blocking the way of economic development and progress—an interest that might be forced into compromises by the stress of persistent pressures. The language of permanent principle was foreign to him. "Non Possumus" to such a mind, was a kind of a joke, and he thought the best confutation of the Church's protests against spoliation was to circulate freely the denunciation (p. 168, n. 3). It was unfortunate that the irreformability of Catholic doctrine should have had to be associated in the minds of Cavour's generation with the apparent irreformability of the temporal administration of the Papal States. This fact and others which serve to extenuate some of the blame of secular-mindedness, in no way lessen the gravity of its errors. The historical vindication of the principle of the Temporal Power has been reserved for our own time. It was next to impossible during times when general recognition of the rights of a small state in Europe was next to nominal. It was this very fact that largely determined the whole course of the Italian Risorgimento, and constituted from the outset the chief problem of Cavour himself, who was compelled to win moral support from stronger powers for a small State before consolidating a nation at least strong enough to have weight in the European balance of power.

W. T. M. GAMBLE.

Washington, D. C.

The Oxford Movement, 1833-1933. By SHANE LESLIE. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. xii, 191.)

Mr. Leslie has written an interesting and entertaining study, based not only on wide reading but also on knowledge obtained by personal association and to some extent participation in some of the more recent events he describes. The book covers ground not always adequately treated by historians of the movement, such as the reflection of the Oxford Movement in Literature and its fate in Ireland. Particularly welcome is the long passage beginning on page 57, which reminds the reader of certain facts connected with the Sister University's rôle in the Anglo-Catholic Revival (Anglo-Protestant is suggested by the present reviewer as a more accurate designation). As a Cambridge M. A., Mr. Leslie is peculiarly qualified to discuss this phase of the movement and his treatment, though brief, is valuable and suggestive. Unfortunately for the reader in this country he touches only incidentally and in a few places on the movement in the United

States, a topic treated in a recent number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW but still awaiting more extended study.

The present reviewer must confess, however, that Mr. Leslie's literary technique is liable to objection. A journalistic style in which almost every sentence is an epigram imposes on the attention a strain which some readers have found excessive, so that after two or three pages one craves a mental rest. And, which is more serious, that manner of writing bristles with temptations to inaccuracy, temptations which Mr. Leslie has by no means uniformly overcome. To quote all the sentences to which the conscientious historian might demur would take up more space than is at our disposal; we must confine ourselves to warning the prospective reader that while he will gain from Mr. Leslie's study much instruction and a fund of amusement, he would do well not to rely on him implicitly in questions of detail.

EDWIN RYAN.

Roland Park, Baltimore.

The Founding of Maryland. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS, Litt. D.
(Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co. 1933. Pp. xii, 367.)

During the current year Maryland, as every school child knows, is celebrating the three hundredth anniversary of her happy founding. With rightful pride she will recall the enterprising vision and courage of the Calverts as well as the magnanimous and heroic Christian virtues of the first colonists. In book and pamphlet, in sermon and lecture the story will be enthusiastically recounted. Already in pageant and novel early scenes re-live for young and old alike. The long voyage of the *Ark* and *Dove*, the triumphal entry of the Potomac, the welcome on the shores of Virginia, the first Mass, the deliberations of the Assembly and their dealings with the peaceful Indians, the zealous labors of the missionaries, the first smiling harvests with their promise of easy prosperity, the efforts made to defend and to perpetuate the colony—all this has been woven into the idyllic picture of the foundation. But the unique distinction of Maryland, under the Calverts, lies in the indisputable fact that in the future Land of the Free she was Freedom's first home. She has been called the "Land of Sanctuary" and no other title fits her so well, is so exclusively her own, among the English colonies. She was the cradle of religious liberty in the new world and her founders deserve to be hailed as the fathers of freedom in America. Americans generally and Catholics in particular will join with the citizens of Maryland in keeping this Tercentenary.

Matthew Page Andrews has written extensively on the history of his adopted State. His last work, *The Founding of Maryland*, is his best, as it is also the best among all the very recent books on the subject. It has not displaced earlier contributions, but it can be recommended, with reservations, to all who want the most up-to-date presentation of the facts

in a single volume. Some readers will still prefer Russell's glowing tribute to Catholic toleration. But in Andrews they will welcome a fair-minded, well-meaning and industrious historian. We may find fault with his evident inability to grasp the full implications of the Jesuit stand on property rights, and the naïve simplicity behind our blind partiality for "separation of Church and State." He does not see that the missionaries were contending, not for the extension of foreign customs to an English colony, but for the century-old principles of Canon Law, to say nothing of the civil rights of all Englishmen. Every American upholds the separation of Church and State for conditions as they exist in the United States, and he should be ready to thank the founders of Maryland for this precious heritage; but the thinking Catholic will know how to distinguish between a tolerable working system and a doctrine that is false as a general thesis. Dr. Andrews, however, seems to erect this working hypothesis into an ideal for all humanity to follow in all circumstances. The ever-recurring refrain grows a bit tedious. With this reservation we have nothing but praise for the book.

Religious liberty is, of course, the central theme of the author. He is right when he insists that Maryland's claim to preëminence in this field is based not on the wording of her original charter, nor even on formal instructions from the proprietary, but on the actual practice of all the leaders in the colony. His interpretation of the extravagantly eulogized and much misinterpreted Toleration Act of 1649 is very acceptable. The act did not inaugurate, it did not even formulate the toleration, or rather liberty, which is Maryland's glory. It was simply a last desperate effort to preserve the peace and mutual good-feeling that had prevailed from the beginning. It was meant as a bulwark against an inrushing Puritan fanaticism. It was, at best, a compromise between the broad tolerance of the Catholic régime and persecuting tendencies of the dominant Puritan. In no case was it the beginning; in no case was it the high point of religious liberty. Generous hospitality was to be repaid with an ingratitude for which honest historians can find no palliation. Our only excuse for mentioning these regrettable facts is that by contrast they serve to emphasize the true character of Maryland under Catholic auspices. Perhaps the best summary of the situation is a short citation from an earlier historian (Browne's *Maryland*) who distinguishes:

three tolerations of Maryland. The toleration of the Proprietaries lasted fifty years and under it all believers in Christ were equal before the law, and all support of churches and ministers was voluntary; the Puritan toleration lasted six [!] years and included all but Papists, Prelatists and those who held objectionable doctrines; the Anglican toleration lasted eighty years, and had glebes and churches for the establishment, connivance for the Dissenters, the Penal Laws for the Catholics, and for all the forty per poll [*i. e.* each citizen paid forty pounds of tobacco yearly to support the established Church.].

Dr. Andrews makes it abundantly clear that during the untrammelled years there was "no record of persecutions or prosecutions of any group, sect or individual because of belief or lack of belief." On the other hand the government did prosecute those who interfered with freedom of expression. And this positive protection of liberty extended to Quaker and to Jew, to all the persecuted outcasts of the other colonies. It is difficult, in the light of the evidence, to see how the champions of any other colony can dispute Maryland's priority in the realm of religious freedom. Certainly, Rhode Island makes a sorry picture in comparison. Nor does it darken her glory to insist on the questionable fact that the proprietary was tolerant merely from policy and that he could not have acted otherwise. Politician or statesman, Cecil Calvert was shrewd, it is true. But all the evidence shows that he was a sincere Catholic who sincerely tried to be tolerant in a Christian spirit far in advance of his time. And the actual practice of the colonists who worked in harmony with his plans was a foretaste of the religious liberty which was to be incorporated into the American Constitution.

It would be interesting to follow the author in his portrayal of outstanding individuals among the first Marylanders. He is quite satisfying in his treatment of the irascible Captain Cornwallis, of Mistress Margaret Brent, the first champion of women's rights in English America, of Father White, the learned and devoted friend of the Indians. But the curiosity of the reader will be directed toward the first and second Lord Baltimore. The author places George Calvert "among the men of vision of all time." "In an environment of greed, self-seeking and corruption . . . he was not spoiled by favors and emoluments . . . as is evidenced by his readiness to give up his high office, to spend his fortune and risk his life in the promotion of an idea permeated by altruistic ideals." But in Cecil Calvert the author has a more knotty problem, in the solution of which he tends to favor his hero. With an eye to business and ever alert amid dangers on either side of the Atlantic to make the most of his opportunities, Cecil worked tirelessly for the best interests of the colony. He was an Erastian; he was over-touchy when his proprietary rights were in question; he was ungenerous, not to say niggardly in providing for the support of the clergy who worked for his colony. But he did not interfere with their labors and he made it possible (though with no expense to himself) for them to keep alive the faith of the Catholic population. He made no pretense to apostolic zeal, but he was sincere in following his conscience and he never betrayed his faith. With all his faults and limitations he presided over the destinies of the Land of Sanctuary with truly extraordinary success and (what is of prime importance during this tercentennial year) he deserves to share with his less calculating and less tried father the high title of "Father of Religious Liberty in the new world."

St. Louis University

R. CORRIGAN, S. J.

A Romance of Lady Poverty: The History of the Capuchin Province of St. Joseph of the Capuchin Order in the United States. By Rev. CELESTINE N. BITTLE, O. M. Cap. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1933. Pp. xxiv, 600.)

Here is a most interesting and substantial contribution to American Church history. Undoubtedly, the most striking fact in the relation is the establishment of the province not by Capuchins from abroad, but by two diocesan priests of Switzerland, Gregory Haas and John Frey. Fully aware that even before the Revolution, Capuchins, both singly and in groups, had done missionary work in America, these two zealous priests were surprised that the most popular Order in Switzerland had no canonically established Province in the United States. Although themselves not Capuchins, they determined to found a province of that Order in the United States. Receiving but scant encouragement from the Swiss Capuchins, they nevertheless succeeded in obtaining a letter of recommendation from the Bishop of St. Gall to Bishop John Martin Henni, a native of Switzerland and Bishop of the Diocese of Milwaukee. After a voyage of forty-eight days they arrived in New York on September 2, 1856, and proceeded to Milwaukee where Bishop Henni received them cordially and after a time assigned them a parish on the summit of a hill near Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. Later they named the hill Mount Calvary.

Gregory Haas now returned to Switzerland to make canonical arrangements for establishing a novitiate at Mount Calvary. In the meantime Father Frey remained there and supervised the building of the friary. On November 19, 1857, Father Haas returned to Mount Calvary. With him were Father Anthony Maria Gachet, O.M.Cap., designated superior and novice-master, and Vincent Engel, O.M.Cap., a lay brother. On December 2, the two priests received the Capuchin habit, Father Haas taking the name of Francis, and Father Frey the name of Bonaventure. Despite the trials and hardships inseparable from such a heroic undertaking, the little family of friars persevered and increased so that by 1882 it numbered seventy friars and was erected into a canonical Province of the Order.

In August, 1932, the Province commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment and the seventy-fifth since the arrival of the two founders. Today it numbers 293 members, 119 of whom are priests assigned to 15 friaries erected in Milwaukee, Marathon and Appleton of Wisconsin, Detroit, Huntington, Ind., Yonkers, N. Y., Brooklyn, and New York. To most of these friaries parishes are attached, three of which are in New York City. At Mount Calvary, the cradle of the Province, a preparatory seminary is conducted for diocesan clergy, and at Garrison,

N. Y., a second seminary has been established to recruit members for the Order. In Milwaukee the Fathers do splendid work in St. Benedict the Moor Mission where they have a parish and a boarding school for the Colored. In Montana missionary work is carried on among the Northern Cheyenne Indians. The Province has also sent priests to the foreign missions of China and India.

The author has accomplished a big task in a masterful way. He follows the true historical method, drawing heavily on unpublished materials collected not only in the provincial archives but also in those of the Capuchin Curia in Rome, the Capuchin archives of Switzerland and the archives of the Ludwig-Missionsverein in Munich. The story with its many-sided characters, grouped about the two saintly founders, together with the pleasing style of the author, all conspire to justify the title—*A Romance of Lady Poverty*.

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O.M.Cap.

Capuchin College, Washington, D. C.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The National Council Welfare Conference has made available in a small brochure (pp. 22) the two discourses of His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate, the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, entitled: *The Holy Father and Catholic Action* (October 1, 1933), and the *National Council of Catholic Women* (October 10, 1933).

Professor Jeremiah D. M. Ford of the Department of Romance Languages at Harvard University, first vice-president of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, received the honorary degree of L. H. D. from Trinity College, Dublin, on July 5. Dr. Ford was also recently elected vice-president of the Medieval Academy.

The Very Rev. Edward V. Cardinal, C. S. V., Ph. D., former student at Catholic University and the University of Illinois, and an active member of the ASSOCIATION, has been appointed president of St. Viator College, Bourbonnais, Ill., where for some years he has been professor of history.

The College Examination Board has appointed a commission to revise the entrance examination in history. The chairman of the commission invites all who have any ideas on the subject, especially secondary school teachers, to communicate with the secretary, Miss Evelyn P. Braun, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. It will be quite pertinent in this connection to consider history in its broadest sense, and to raise such questions as the desirability of including within the scope of history the related cultural and social studies.

At the advanced age of four-score and three and in the midst of his literary labors, Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., one of our leading Catholic historians, departed this life on April 27. He was born on November 13, 1851, at Bilshausen, Province of Hanover, Germany. He was a year old when he came with his parents to the United States. In 1872 he entered the Franciscan Order and six years later, after finishing the prescribed courses in philosophy and theology, he was ordained priest. For almost half a century, with a zeal and energy that bordered on the heroic, Father Engelhardt consecrated himself to the study and writing of the mission history of North America. Actual contact with the Indians, among whom he labored as missionary for more than three decades, gave him a fine understanding and a correct appreciation of the many problems that beset the path of the American pioneers of the Faith; while his innate talent for historical research and criticism, fortified by an unyielding

passion for historical truth and accuracy, on the one hand supplied in large measure lack of scientific training in his chosen field and on the other hand secured for his writings those qualities of historical scholarship that ensure reliability and create confidence. These traits of the man and the scholar apply chiefly to his numerous works on the California missions—the field in which he labored forty years and came to be universally regarded as our leading authority. His four huge tomes entitled *Missions and Missionaries of California*, and his series of volumes dealing with the local history of the California missions will always be treasured as a basic source of information and referred to as the standard authority by students of this particular phase of Hispanic-American history. The following list of his California volumes show how justly he has been styled the “Historian of the Padres”: *The Franciscans in California*, 1897; *The Franciscans in Arizona*, 1899; *Missions and Missionaries of California* (four volumes with separate Index volume), 1908-1915; *The Holy Man of Santa Clara*, 1909; *Vida del P. Magín Catalá*, 1910; *Mission San Diego*, 1920; *Mission San Luis Rey*, 1921; *Mission San Juan Capistrano*, 1922; *Mission San Gabriel*, 1927; *Mission San Fernando*, 1927; *Mission Santa Barbara*, 1923; *Mission San Francisco*, 1924; *Missions San Miguel, San Antonio, and Soledad*, 1928; *Mission San Buenaventura*, 1930; *Mission San Juan Bautista*, 1931; *Missions Santa Inez and Purísima Concepción*, 1932; *Mission San Luis Obispo*, 1933. Only four days before death cut short the labor that he loved so well, Father Engelhardt was at his desk correcting proof sheets for the sixteenth of his local histories, that of Mission San Carlos. He died “in harness,” as he had long hoped and prayed for. Characteristic of him were the last words he spoke from his sickbed to his assistant: “How’s the work?” He is resting now in the vault of Santa Barbara Mission, where some of those heroes are buried whose achievements in the distant past as missionaries were for so many years the subject of his own achievements as historian. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O. F. M.)

The *Stimmen der Zeit* for April, 1934, contains a short but important article on the value of Church statistics by the editor of the *Kirchliches Handbuch*, Father Hermann A. Krose, S. J., in which he develops canon 470 of the Code.

There has finally appeared in France a counterpart of the *Catholic Directory*. It is *L'Annuaire général du clergé, de l'Enseignement et des Oeuvres Catholiques en France* (Lethielleux). This annual, established with the collaboration of the hierarchy of France, gives by dioceses and parishes the list of the members of the clergy, a directory of educational establishments of all grades, with the names of the teachers attached to

them, and a guide to religious communities and religious works of all kinds established in each parish of France.

Montalembert's *Précis d'histoire monastique, des origines à la fin du XI^e siècle*, revised and brought up to date by the Benedictines of Oosterhout, was published during April by J. Vrin, Paris.

The Separated Eastern Churches, by Rev. Père Janin, has been translated by the Very Rev. Canon P. Boylan (Sands).

A History of the Franciscan Order, based upon original sources, is being written by the Very Rev. Dr. Raphael Huber, O. M. Conv., professor of Church history, Rome. The work is planned for four volumes: the first to cover the general history of the Order from the days of St. Francis (1181) to the division under Leo X (1517); the second to trace the history of the four major branches (Observants, Riformati, Recollects, and Discalced) from 1517 to their reunion under Leo XIII (1897) and down to the present era; the third to treat the history of the Conventuals, after the division in 1517, to the present; and the final volume to be devoted to the history of the Capuchins from 1528. The work, begun some twenty-five years ago, will probably be finished by the end of the year. Publishers and others interested in the project may communicate with the author at Piazza Scossacavalli 145, Rome, Italy.

Three volumes by Léon Homo have already appeared in the "Bibliothèque Historique" of Payot, Paris. The fourth by the same author has recently been published. It is *Rome Médiévale (476-1420): Histoire, civilisation vestiges* (328 pp.) The fall of the Roman Empire of the West in 476 did not seal the tomb of Roman imperialism. The imperialism of the Caesars gave way to Christian imperialism. In spite of the trials of the medieval period, medieval Rome carried on the tradition of antique Rome. A study of the thousand years between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries, in the fields of civilization, literature, art and institutions of Rome, results in an interesting volume of real merit.

Paul Fargues has recently published from the presses of Fischbacher, Paris, the third volume of his *Histoire du Christianisme*. Divided into three parts, it treats of the Middle Ages from 814-1073, from 1073-1294, and from 1294-1450.

The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century, by Dr. Solomon Grayzel, is a study of these relations, 1198-1254, based on the papal letters and the conciliar decrees of the period (Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Philadelphia, pp. 377).

The professor of ecclesiastical history at L'Institut Catholique, Paris,

H. X. Arquillière, is the author of *Saint Grégoire VII. Essai sur la Conception du Pouvoir pontifical* (Vrin, Paris).

The April number of *Collectanea Franciscana* prints two sermons of Fr. Raymond Gaufredi, preached at Oxford in 1291, with an introductory note by A. G. Little; "Jérôme de Sorbo, illuminé de Palerme et S. Laurent de Brindes en Belgique (1598-1602)," by P. Hildebrand, O. M. Cap.; "Il Cardinale Antonio Barberini Seniore, O. M. Cap. (1569-1646)," by P. Sisto da Pisa, O. M. Cap.; and there are the usual notes and miscellany, with lists of Franciscan writings and Franciscan bibliography.

Boniface the Eighth, 1294-1303, by T. S. R. Boase (Constable, pp. 397), is a recent addition to the series, *Makers of the Middle Ages*.

The sixteenth volume of Louis von Pastor's *Histoire des Papes, depuis la fin du Moyen Age* (Plon) appeared during May.

J. Webert has added another volume to Denoël et Steele's collection "Les Maîtres de la Pensée Religieuse." The title of this most recent addition is *Saint Thomas d'Aquin, le génie de l'ordre* (275 pp.).

The Renaissance and the Reformation, by Professor Henry S. Lucas, is intended for college class use (Harper).

Erasme et les Débuts de la Réforme française (1517-1536) is the title of a recent study by Margaret Mann. Champion, Paris, are the publishers.

No. 6 of the Yale Studies in Religion is the *Attitude of Wolfgang Musculus toward Religious Tolerance*, by Dr. Paul J. Schwab (pp. 63).

The Catholic Truth Society's list has been enriched by the following new pamphlets: *Blessed Thomas More*, by Mgr. P. E. Hallett; a guide to *Glastonbury Abbey*, by the Very Rev. Ethelbert Horne; and three additions to its Studies in Comparative Religion: *The Conversion of the Roman Empire* and the *Church in the Christian Roman Empire*, both by the Rev. Philip Hughes; and the *Eastern Churches*, by Donald Attwater.

The contents of the April number of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* include: "Les ébionites baptistes," by J. Thomas; "La société lettrée de Londres observée par un écrivain français en 1839: journal inédit de François Rio," contributed by L. Gougaud; and "Les débuts de l'occupation française à Rome en 1849, d'après une correspondance inédite," contributed by G. Mollat.

Mlle P. de Lallemand has published, with an introduction by Georges Goyau, a collection of sixty-four new *Lettres de Montalembert à La Mennais* (Paris, Desclée, 1933, pp. 321), which throw light on the history of a

famous friendship and its rupture, and indeed on the whole Liberal Catholic movement of the 1830's both in France and in Germany.

St. Jeanne d'Arc remains a splendid subject for biographical studies, if we may judge from the number of works now appearing which are centered about her life. The most recent are *Une nouvelle affaire Jeanne d'Arc* (Librairie Centrale) by S. Fort, and a French edition of Hilaire Belloc's *Jeanne d'Arc* (Firmin-Didot).

Two volumes of recent ecclesiastical history have been published by Plon. One is the memoirs of a French diplomat at Rome, Baron Beyens, and is entitled *Quatre ans à Rome, 1921-1926. Fin du Pontificat de Benoist XV. Pie XI. Les débuts du fascisme* (308 pp.). The second volume is from the pen of Pierre Lyautey, *Cardinal Luçon, archevêque de Reims (1842-1930)* (240 pp.).

Among recent biographies of religious characters are the following: *Sainte Thérèse de Lisieux, Protectrice des peuples* (Edit. du Lys), by Albert de Pourville; *Sainte Bernadette de Lourdes* (Flammarion), by Marie Gasquet; *Le Cardinal Mercier devant l'Allemagne* (Flammarion), by Georges Goyau; *L'Apprenti missionnaire Chérubin Merolla (1910-1930)* (Lethielleux), by R. P. de Ruggiero; *Monseigneur Mignot* (Bloud et Gay), by L. de Lager; *L'Abbé Georges Frémont* (Bloud et Gay), by Charles J. Alleaume; and *Un Ange du Carmel: Sainte Thérèse-Marguerite du Sacré-Coeur* (Vitte), by R. P. Stanislas de Sainte-Thérèse.

Sainte Thérèse et la vie mystique (275 pp.) comes from the pens of J. D. Berrueta and Jacques Chevalier. It is an admirable biography of the great Spanish mystic, and includes an excellent exposé of her thought. The publishers are Denoël et Steele, Paris.

Saint Ignatius of Loyola is perhaps one of the least known of the great saints whose influence was profound and far-reaching. Paul Dudon, S. J., has taken a long step towards remedying this situation with his excellently documented *Saint Ignace de Loyola* (664 pp.), published by Beauchesne, Paris.

We are happy to announce that we have begun exchanging with *Bohoslovia, i. e., Theology*, a quarterly published by the Theological Society of the Greek Uniat Church in the Ruthenian language in the city of Lwów (Lemberg), Poland. The periodical is known for its uniformly high level of scientific and literary excellence. The present number, which is No. 1 of vol. XII, 1934, features an article on Canon Law in Latin by Dr. Basil Baran, entitled: "De ortu et iuribus vicarii generalis" which is to be continued. Dr. I. Spytkovskij contributes another installment of his

paper on the Szeptycki Family and their Coat of Arms. It also will be continued in a subsequent number. One may note that the present incumbent of the Ruthenian Archiepiscopal See of Lwów is a member of that historic family. The first part of a contribution by Dr. Nicholas Rusnak, entitled: "The Liturgical Books of the Eastern Church on the Primacy of the Pope" also appears in this number. Further sections of the review are devoted to selected questions or analecta, book reviews, a chronicle, proceedings of the Theological Society, and brief notices of books and periodicals.

H. M. Stationery Office, London, has issued Vol. XII of the *Papal Registers* (1458-1471). The calendar deals with the contents of the Lateran Registers of Pius II and the Vatican and Lateran Registers of Paul II, and relates especially to Scottish and Irish affairs.

The supplement to the February issue of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* contains particulars of historical theses completed, 1932-1933, and in progress, 1933-1934, in the universities and university colleges of the United Kingdom. Many titles of Catholic interest are listed.

The April number of the *English Historical Review* brings the conclusion of the interesting articles by Professor Harold Temperley on "Stratford de Redcliffe and the Origins of the Crimean War" (XLVIII, 601-21; XLIX, 265-98). Based on Austrian, Dutch, and especially British archives (the Stratford and Clarendon MSS.), these articles tend to show, in contrast to views hitherto current, that "the great Elchi" worked for peace far more consistently and tenaciously than he has been given credit for; that he was less anti-Russian than his predecessor at Constantinople or Sir H. Seymour at St. Petersburg; that he was far from being a kind of dictator at Constantinople, playing off the Turks against his own government and all the other Powers of Europe. The real root of the trouble was chauvinism in England, Russia, and especially Turkey.

Another contribution of value in the same field is the article by G. B. Henderson on "The Seymour Conversations, 1853" in *History*, October, 1933 (N. S., XVIII, pp. 241-47). "A study of these negotiations does not reveal the Czar as a plotter: it reveals him as a blunderer, whose blunders were equalled by those of the British ministers."

Professor James A. Muller of the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge (Mass.) has supplemented his biography of the great Bishop of Winchester (1926) by a volume of the *Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, University Press, 1933, pp. 573). Containing 173 letters, of which only 75 had previously been published, this work should be of

material assistance towards the understanding of a man who did so much to tear England away from Rome under Henry VIII and to bring her back to the Roman obedience under Queen Mary.

The first annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held in Ottawa, May 29, 30. On the first day there was a luncheon conference at which was discussed the Teaching of History in Catholic Colleges and Seminaries; and a general session at which the following papers were read: "Dante, the Poet of the Liturgy," by Dr. Mary Manley; "The Utopia of Blessed Thomas More," by the Rev. John B. O'Reilly; "L'une des sources de l'apostolat canadien-français," by the Very Rev. Canon Emile Chartier; and "Father John McKenna, Loyalist Chaplain," by the Rev. Edward Kelly. On the second day the luncheon conference was on the work of the Association's Committee on Archives. The papers of the afternoon's session were: "La mission de John Carroll au Canada en 1776 et l'interdit du P. Floquet," by the Rev. Thomas M. Charland, O. P.; "The Hon. James Baby, Loyalist, First Catholic Member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada," by the Rev. Brother Alfred, F. S. C.; "Liberté des cultes au Canada," by the Hon. Jean François Pouliot; and "Contemporary Recovery Policies against the Historical Background of Catholic Economic and Social Theory," by Dr. John J. Connolly. At the annual dinner which brought the meeting to a close the presidential address was read by the Hon. F. R. Latchford, first president of the association.

Bulletin No. 21 (March) of the American Council of Learned Societies is devoted entirely to a List of American Periodicals and Serial Publications in the Humanities and Social Sciences, compiled by Dr. Leo F. Stock (pp. 130). This list supplements Dr. Stock's *List of American Journals devoted to the Humanistic and Social Sciences*, first issued by the Council in 1925 and revised to 1928. Following the main list there is presented a classified list of the periodicals and serials described, arranged under sixteen heads in accordance with the fields covered by the publications. Copies will be sent by the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C., upon receipt of twenty-five cents in stamps.

René Menard, 1605-1661, by Alexander McG. Steward, is a study of the life of Father Menard which was prepared in connection with the naming of a state highway bridge over the Seneca River (Rochester, pp. 76).

Some account of Bishop Baraga's missionary work is given in a biography by Franc Jaklič, *Misijonski škof irenej Friderik Baraga*. An article in the same language, "Baraga apostol tresnosti," is contributed by Hugo Bren to the January issue of *Ave Maria*, published by the Slovene Franciscans at Lemont, Ill.

Transcripts of fifteen letters written by the Indian missionary, Fr. Francis Pierz, between 1835-1840, have been made for the Minnesota Historical Society from originals in the parish archives of Krainburg, Jugoslavia. These letters, written to friends in his native land, describe his mission work in the Northwest, his impressions of native land, and his travels along the north shore of Lake Superior.

The magazine section of the *St. Paul Daily News* for January 14 contains a description of Bishop Cretin's early experiences in America as revealed in his letters to his sister in France.

Historical Essays, No. 10, issued by St. Meinrad Seminary, Ind., lists the following contents: Indiana in 1834, by William Mullenholz; Catholicism in Indiana prior to 1834; Vincennes in 1834, by Patrick Kilfoil; the First Priest of Bishop Bruté (Simon P. Lalumière), by John Casey; Simon Bruté de Rémur, 1834-1839, by Thomas Clarke; Celestine de la Hailandière, Second Bishop of Vincennes, by John Kraka; John Stephen Bazin, Third Bishop of Vincennes, by Paul Maloney; Maurice de St. Palais, Fourth Bishop of Vincennes, by Daniel Nolan; Francis Silas Chatard, First Bishop of Indianapolis, by Bernard Strange; Joseph Chartrand, Second Bishop of Indianapolis, by Richard Langen; and the Priests of Vincennes-Indianapolis, 1859, 1884, 1909, by Francis Heiligenstein.

Appended to an anonymous article entitled, "Catholicism or Slavery: Which?" appearing in the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, is a letter, dated June 5, 1856, from Samuel Lumsden, Irish merchant of Milwaukee, to Robert Tyler, a Pennsylvania politician who, though a Protestant, became president of the Irish Repeal Association.

The *Minutes* of the 16th regular meeting of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, held in Austin, May 16, contains (among other interesting matter) the report of the Rev. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., chairman of the commission. In spite of diminished financial support it is expected that two volumes of the Mission Era in Texas (to 1745) will be ready for publication by the end of 1934. Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda was appointed historiographer in place of the Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., who resigned to accept a lectureship at the Catholic University of America. Dr. Castañeda will finish the work on the mission period; an historiographer of the modern period will not be selected until the accumulation of materials has made further progress.

As a supplement to the April number of the *American Historical Review* there is printed a *List of Research Projects in History*, exclusive

of doctoral dissertations, now in progress in the United States and Canada (pp. 54), which contains 817 titles of works designated as contemplated, in progress, finished, in press, or published. There seems to be little purpose in including some 30 topics which are merely "contemplated"; this "paper blockade" of particular territory should have no effect upon another scholar equipped and ready to enter the field. It will be interesting to note ten years hence how many of the projects "contemplated" or "in progress" will have found their way into print. This *List* offers interesting commentary on purely Catholic topics which non-Catholic historians have elected to study and which for some reason have never attracted the attention of Catholic historians who should be able to treat the subjects more satisfactorily.

In the March issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia will be found an article by Dr. Elizabeth S. Kite on Lafayette and His Companions on the *Victoire*; the third part of Father Francis E. Tourscher's history of Old Saint Augustine's in Philadelphia and its Missions; the address delivered before the society by Dr. John J. Meng, entitled, "Philadelphia Welcomes America's First Foreign Representative (Gerard)"; and a continuation of Francis Furey's study of the Beginning of Hawaiian Vicariate.

The leading article in the April number of *Mid-America* is a study of Early Plans for the German Catholic Colonization of Texas, by the Rev. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C. John F. McDermott, under the title, "Paincourt and Poverty," refutes the charge that early St. Louis was poverty stricken; Father Raymond Corrigan, S.J., contributes to the Maryland Tercentenary a worthy article on Maryland, Cradle of Religious Liberty; Sister Mary Celeste, R.S.M., writes of the Miami Indians prior to 1700; and Pierre Georges Roy sponsors some documents concerning the genealogy of the American Frémonts.

The May issue of the *Historical Bulletin* prints a timely article on Vincennes, 1834-1934, by Thomas F. O'Connor; a discussion of the Kensington Stone, by Francis S. Betten, S.J.; a study of the Anthropomorphic Gods in Roman Religion, by George C. Ring, S.J.; the second part of the Apaches as a Spanish Frontier Problem, by John F. Bannon, S.J.; a list of historical fiction, compiled by Allan P. Farrell, S.J.; and a statement of an historical problem on the Spanish Armada, contributed by Herman J. Muller, S.J.

Sociology was the subject of the sixteenth annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, held at Hinsdale, Ill., June 28-30. But there was an historical paper on the Franciscans and Social Activities,

read by the Rev. Victor Mills, O. F. M., in connection with which there were general discussions of Social Conditions in the Thirteenth Century; St. Francis, Social Reformer; the Friars and the *Montes Pietatis* of the Fifteenth Century; and the Third Order and Feudalism.

The varied contents of the June number of the *Iowa Catholic Historical Review* include, under the title, "In His Own Right: a Side Light on Early Catholicity in Davenport," an account by Mrs. Elizabeth Bray of the McCullough family; some notes on the Foundation of the Catholic Church in Pocahontas County, by Clarence E. Farrelly; a continuation of the Chronicle of New Melleray Abbey, by the Rev. Dr. F. A. Mullin; part two of the Rev. M. M. Hoffmann's story of Loras in Alabama; Anne M. Stuart's list of Catholic Writers of Iowa; and an article on the Patronal Relic of Iowa, *Corpus Sancti Cessiani Martyris*, by the Rev. M. J. Martin. Among the letters and documents printed is a letter of Vanbrugh Livingston to Bishop Loras seeking the latter's recommendation for the appointment of first U. S. chargé to the Papal States, which was given to Jacob L. Martin.

The contents of the June number of *Church History* cover a study of Anglicanism on the Eve of the Oxford Movement by John T. McNeill; an interpretation of the Conception of Authority in the Oxford Movement, by T. L. Harris; evidences of Recent Recognition of Archbishop Peckham (bibliographical), by John L. Peckham; and a view of the Significance to Church History of the Change from the Temporary to the Permanent in Foreign Missions, by William D. Schermerhorn.

Anniversaries: One thousand years since the founding of the Benedictine Monastery of Einsiedeln, Switzerland. Centenary: St. James' Church, Baltimore, Md.; St. Stephen's Church, Hamilton, Ohio; ninetieth anniversary of Most Holy Redeemer parish, New York City. Seventy-fifth anniversaries: founding of the American College, Rome; St. Boniface Church, Minneapolis, Minn. Fiftieth anniversary: St. Andrew's, Fairfax, Minn.; erection of the diocese of Manchester, N. H.; St. Francis Church, St. Paul, Kan. Twenty-fifth anniversary: St. Clare's Orphanage, Denver, Col.; St. Louis Bertrand's, Oakland, Calif.

The Samaritans of Molokai, by C. J. Dutton, presents the history of the lives of Father Damien and Brother Joseph, and makes public for the first time many details of the last three years of the life of Damien (Williams and Norgate, pp. 286).

BRIEF NOTICES

ASHBOURNE, LORD, *Grégoire and the French Revolution*. (London, Sands and Co., 1933, pp. 236.)

This book deals with the political career of the Abbé Grégoire who became Constitutional Bishop of Blois. The make up of the book is peculiar. Lord Ashbourne gives in his text the original French of his documents immediately followed by an English translation separated only by a typographical sign. The author follows the Abbé from his election to the States General to the end of his tempestuous career, establishing from contemporary documents the share of Grégoire in the decision of the lower clergy to join the deputies of the Third Estate; his unreserved approval of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; his proposal that the National Convention should decree the abolition of the monarchy in France. He was absent from Paris when the Convention was trying the king, but he sent in writing his vote in favor of the condemnation of Louis XVI, without appeal to the people. "Originally the words *condamnation à mort* were in the letter, but the words *à mort* were scratched out at the request of Grégoire, not on the ground that he objected to them, but because as an ecclesiastic he did not consider himself justified in voting directly on the death penalty." As Bishop of Blois he thundered against the blasphemous farce of Gobel, the Constitutional Bishop of Paris, in "renouncing his functions as minister of the Catholic religion." Intransigent Republican until the end he was one of the two who voted *no* when the question of hereditary empire came on. "Having never placed myself under the banner of anybody, I have always obeyed my conscience." For a man so deeply politically compromised as Grégoire was, one can imagine his position after 1815. He died without having retracted his constitutional oath, maintaining that he had always been "a good Catholic and a good Republican." In his will there is a clause that reads: "I set aside the sum of 4,000 francs for the foundation of an annual Mass for my calumniators and my enemies living and dead." Grégoire is one of those personalities around whom historical battles rage. The Abbé's views on the Constitutional Church, while indefensible, can be easily understood when one remembers that, after all, Grégoire only drew the logical conclusions contained in the old Gallican position. In the appendix are found his two vehement reports on the vandalism—he coined the word—of the Revolutionists, and his pastoral letter of March 12, 1795. (J. DELANGLEZ, S. J.)

BRÉGY, KATHERINE, *From Dante to Jeanne d'Arc: Adventures in Medieval Life and Letters*. [Science and Culture Series, Joseph Husslein, S. J. (Ed.).] (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co., 1933. pp. xiv, 138, \$1.75.)

This book is one to enjoy and, enjoying, to feel lifted up not only mentally but also spiritually. Extravagant these words may seem but they record experience. Minor lapses occur. Some of the essays fall in the periods before Dante and after Jeanne d'Arc, and the "legend of the year 1000" is still credited. An author has an undoubted right to select his subjects, but a

reviewer may be allowed to ask are topics of interest confined to regions west of the Rhine. Very happy, however, are Miss Brégy's studies, especially that comparing the Puritan allegory *Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan with the Catholic *Everyman* and other late medieval allegories. Her review of Dante won the Leahy prize of *Commonweal* in 1927 under the title "Dante and his Vision of Life." Very characteristic of Miss Brégy's way with the past—and the present—are her lines in the last essay on Jeanne d'Arc. Miss Brégy wonders why Jeanne d'Arc has not been "more confidently claimed, more universally exploited by women themselves, both within and without the Church; since there is scarcely in all history a figure who embodies in so quintessential a degree the ideals toward which modern womanhood is striving. . . . The goal of the modern woman, at its soundest and sanest and sweetest, is both higher and more inclusive—it would have the sisters valiant as well as virtuous, the brothers virtuous as well as valiant" (pp. 124-125). The little book embodies well the "idea" of Father Husslein's series. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.)

BURGESS, JOHN W., *Reminiscences of an American Scholar*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. viii, 430, \$3.50.)

In 1931 Columbia University issued a bibliography of the Faculty of Political Science from 1880 to 1930, which commenced on page three with the record of John William Burgess, setting out, in slightly less than four pages, the chronicle of his writings, in books and articles. These indicate plainly the range of his work, as well as the numerous angles from which he approached the subject of government. This new volume fills in with admirable detail the fuller picture of the man and his methods.

From these reminiscences it is learned how human he was, how scholarly was his approach to even the lesser problems of political science; while his portraiture of the German universities and their stimulating teachers, his slightly etched pictures of Amherst and Columbia Colleges as spheres of work and experience are as charming as they are illuminating.

One is grateful to Columbia and Dr. Butler for adding the address entitled "Uncle Sam," delivered at Cologne in 1906, as an indication of the American character and its aim; and still more for the opinion of Gustav Droysen, in which he said, "The thing which is most striking in American History is that you Americans seem to be able always to solve your problems at the right moment." Like all men to whom experience comes from many lands and many culture centres, Professor Burgess slowly but surely adumbrated, then more firmly sketched what constitutes the real and abiding joy of life before which all other forms of pleasure slowly recedes. It lies in realizing the hope of founding institutions in which, and from which, there shall continuously flow the stimulation which induces each succeeding class to look forward, as they look up, to those nobler aspects of life and thought which will lead them and their companions to the study and practice of the sublime and the beautiful truths of life. This hope Dr. Burgess expresses in these words: "If I have anything to my credit in the Bank Above, I am sure that this (thought) constitutes a considerable part of it."

For this charming and interesting volume Columbia and Dr. Butler are to be thanked, but it must be read through in order to appreciate the man, his style, his mind, and his perennial sympathy with life and its problems. (BOYD CARPENTER.)

CLEMENCE, STELLA R. (Comp.), *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts Concerning Peru, 1531-1651*. (Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1932, pp. x, 336.)

During 1929 Mr. Edward Harkness of New York presented to the Library of Congress two collections of manuscripts relating to Mexico and Peru during the first two centuries of Spanish rule. The Peruvian part of the treasure, consisting of over a thousand documents, has been catalogued and described, and the result of the work is presented in the volume before us. The documents are of the greatest variety, ranging from official papers of bishops, viceroys, municipalities and so on down to tailor's bills, so that probably no phase of life in Peru between the completion of the Conquest and the middle of the seventeenth century is unrepresented.

It were superfluous to dilate on the importance of this collection. With those of the Huntington Library at San Marino and of the New York Public Library the papers listed here constitute a fascinating storehouse for students of early Peruvian history. The task of cataloguing and describing was entrusted to Miss Stella Clemence and has been admirably fulfilled. During the later portion of the work she was assisted by Dr. Rubio of the Catholic University of America. It is always gratifying to note interest in Hispanic-American studies on the part of Catholics in the United States, for hitherto as regards this country most of the investigation in that field has been performed by non-Catholics working in non-Catholic centres of study.

Miss Clemence is now engaged in preparing a second volume giving the full text with translation of the hundred documents listed here which deal with the Pizarros and the Almagros, and that will be followed by a third volume containing a descriptive catalogue of the Mexican documents in the Harkness Collection. (EDWIN RYAN.)

COGNOLA, MARCOLDA, O. M. Cap., *I Frati Minori Cappuccini della Provincia di Trento*. (Reggio-Emilia, 1932, pp. 335.)

This well documented work on the activity of the Capuchins of the Trentino is a contribution to the history of missions in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and America. In 1889 the government of Brazil applied to the General of the Capuchins for missionaries among the Indians. The Fathers of the Trentino Province were entrusted with this mission and have been laboring since 1889 in Brazil among the Coroados and Chavantes Indians (pp. 307-329). Noteworthy among those Capuchin missionaries was Father Seraphin of Piracicaba, a Coroado Indian, who in 1914 was drowned in the Parana River. The Fathers opened large tracts of lands by building roads through the forests. (JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. Cap.)

DÖLGER, FRANZ JOSEPH, *Antike und Christentum: Kultur und Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*. Bd. IV, Heft 2. (Münster in Westfalen, Aschen-dorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933, pp. 81-151, 5 RM.)

This serial, solely from the pen of Dr. Dölger, of Bonn University, and maintained at his expense, is a monument both of learning and devotion to it. Now that the work is in its fourth volume it should receive extended notice as a whole. Its worth can be surmised from the contents of the present *Heft*. Among the studies included in it are: the Longinus legend, the influence of Origen on the treatment of epileptics (the possessed) and lunatics and also the reasons for the practice of denying Holy Communion to the former. (F. J. T.)

EINSTEIN, LEWIS, *Divided Loyalties: Americans in England during the War of Independence*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933, pp. xvi, 469, \$3.50.)

Through the pages of this book stride many of the most enigmatical figures of American history. Dr. Edward Bancroft, confidant of the American Commissioners in Paris, stands fully revealed as one of the cleverest spies in the employ of the British Foreign Office. Paul Wentworth, the Rev. John Vardill, Sir John Temple, and Benjamin Thompson were worthy contemporaries of the wily Doctor. Others there are, American Loyalist refugees in a hostile London, American members of Parliament and American court painters, whose lives were clouded by the uncertainty of their national status and affections. Mr. Einstein has come as near to success in making popular authentic and painstaking research as could be reasonably desired. Copious notes to original sources, supported by justificatory documents, are relegated to the end of the volume, where they cannot trouble the casual reader, yet may be referred to with profit by the student. (JOHN J. MENG.)

FINK, LEO GREGORY, *Old Jesuit Trails in Penn's Forest*. (New York, The Paulist Press, 1933, pp. xv, 270, \$1.50.)

If the Catholic Church history of the United States is too little known it is largely because it is not accessible to the public in popular form. In *Old Jesuits Trails*, Monsignor Fink tries to revive the memory of our deserved pioneer priests and churches and their successors, even beyond the scope of the title. He tells many interesting facts, but he repeats too many errors that could have been avoided easily. Unfortunately, too, many dates and personalia are erroneous; some anachronisms also occur. Some priests appear as seculars or as Jesuits though they were not such. It is clear that, for these defects, this volume must be used with great caution for future work in Church history. The author is evidently not acquainted with late historical works on the subject. A number of illustrations add much to the book. There is an index, but no bibliography. It is to be regretted that the author's efforts are greatly lost for, though not a critical work, it can scarcely be said to do justice to the theme. (LAMBERT SCHROTT, O. S. B.)

FITZPATRICK, EDWARD A. (Ed.), *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*. Translations by Mary Helen Mayer and A. R. Ball. (New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933, pp. xi, 275.)

This volume opens with a succinct resumé of the life of the founder of the Society of Jesus. The natural and supernatural factors that guided the life and work of St. Ignatius are well presented and deeply impress the reader with the fact that here one sees the education of character in all its fulness.

In the second section of the work that part of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus which has to do especially with their work on education is given and carefully explained.

The *Ratio Studiorum* comprises the third section of this very carefully edited work. The historical explanation of the *Ratio* and its relation to the Constitutions which was given in the first section adequately prepares the reader for the proper appreciation of the *Ratio* of 1599 as given here in full.

The last section, wherein we find an analytical outline of the Spiritual Exercises, gives to all earnest American educators, to whom this volume should make a strong appeal, a reason why Catholic education, of which that conducted by the Jesuits is a part, is a properly correlated and well-rounded system. A careful examination of this deep psychological study of human personality will "be the saving knowledge, for therein the way to unity and integration of life is clearly pointed out." As the editor of this work so truly says, "for character, education and training of the will, there is nothing in all the range of our tests and measures, research and analysis, to compare with it. If the *Spiritual Exercises* alone were the whole of Ignatius' contribution, the debt of education to him would be inestimable."

This volume is a distinct and worthwhile addition to the McGraw-Hill Education Classics, under the general editorship of Dr. Edward H. Reisner. (LEO L. McVAY.)

GERSHOY, LEO, *The French Revolution*. (New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., revised edition; 1933, pp. 576, \$5.00.)

Among the many new treatments of the French Revolution, Professor Gershoey has placed a worthy volume. Designed as a college text, it rises above ordinary textbook standards and emerges as an important study of the era deserving of attention beyond the confines of the classroom. It is distinctive in organization, quality of writing and originality of viewpoint.

The author departs from many traditions in the treatment of his subject which may bring criticism from some quarters, but this reviewer found them refreshing and logical. Especial emphasis is laid upon the contribution of the peasantry to the Revolution, for "it was their active participation that made the revolutionary movement of 1789 a success." The importance of the "philosophies" is toned down, though their philosophy is very fully treated, and "outmoded institutions and intolerable conditions" of the old order in France are set forth as providing the real basis for a revolutionary movement.

Further points of distinction are the light shed upon the development of the nationalist movement during the Revolution, and the evaluation of the "stupendous" work of the Convention. The common error of overemphasizing

the Reign of Terror and personal conflicts of the revolutionary leaders at the expense of a perspective of the steady progress of the revolutionary movement is avoided. The Napoleonic era is interestingly treated. Concerning Napoleon, Professor Gershoy declares, "Ambition alone does not explain his action." Attention is directed to the natural conflict with England and the essential strife between Napoleon as a child of revolution and the absolute States of Europe as important factors in the Napoleonic wars. At the same time the author is not an apologist for the emperor. The sordid, despotic and unfortunate aspects of his rule are not overlooked. His failure to observe fully the terms of the Concordat and unfortunate relations with the Church and Holy See are given a large place in explaining his failures and downfall. Good maps, attractive print and comprehensive bibliographical essays for each chapter are among the especial virtues of the work. It is an admirable addition to our surveys of the French Revolution and worthy of careful consideration by all students of this great epoch. (S. K. STEVENS.)

GEWEHR, WESLEY M., *The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans, 1800-1930*. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. xi, 137.)

One of the *Berkshire Studies in European History* this little volume presents in outline the story of the development whereby an oppressed and poverty stricken section of the Turkish Empire became five more or less prosperous nations, two of which, Rumania and Yugoslavia are to be ranked as major second class powers. The story is one of complicated intrigue, hence it is not to be wondered that the limitations of space have required a simplification which may be misleading especially in view of the hotch-potch of race, religion, and culture involved. It is doubtless for this reason that the author fails to make clear the problem of Yugoslavia. While it is a Slav country, the culture and religion of the Croat and Slovene differentiate him tremendously from the Serb. However, thanks also to a capable bibliography and index and a chronological table in parallel columns, it is a very useful volume not only as collateral reading for general European history and the origins of the World War but as an introduction to Balkan history. (A. M. T., O. P.)

GOODENOUGH, ERWIN, R., *The Church in the Roman Empire*. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. xii, 132.)

This sketch, though well written, is hardly up to the usual standard of impartiality of the *Berkshire Studies in European History* to which it belongs. It is Church history according to Harnack. The author for example recognizes that the Resurrection gave the driving force to the early missionary activity of the Church and professes his inability to explain how the Apostles came to have such an absurd idea. He accepts Gibbon's fable about the poisoning of Arius and blandly assumes that the explanation of the spread of the post-Constantinian Church was its willingness to become paganism modified but slightly. It cannot be recommended for use in Catholic schools. (A. M. T., O. P.)

HAMMOND, WILLIAM A., *A Bibliography of Aesthetics and of the Philosophy of the Fine Arts from 1900 to 1932*. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1933, pp. 183.)

This bibliography lists general and special works pertaining to aesthetics and the fine arts. The purpose of the book would be more clear-cut if the text was confined to those topics and did not include irrelevant material. The bibliography is not complete in the fine arts, but it is to persons in this field that the book will appeal. Such bibliographies are of great value to students and more books of the kind are to be desired. (Sister M. DORIS, O. P.)

JACOBS, Dr. P. ARSENIUS, O. M. Cap., *Die Rheinischen Kapuziner, 1611-1725*. [Heft 62, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte.] (Muenster in W., Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933, pp. xxii, 163 with map, RM 8.30.)

From this scholarly contribution to the history of the Catholic counter-reformation in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it is plain that the Rhenish Capuchins were not only conscious of the problems of the times in matters of religious reform, and made concerted efforts to assist in solving them, but that during these times they were also employed in the reform movement both by the newly founded Congregation of the Propaganda and by the ruling princes of the Rhine region. Basing his study on sources which by their character and extent necessarily awaken confidence, the author concludes that the reform activities of the Capuchins and of the Jesuits, though differing in the choice of methods and means, were mutually complementary, the former devoting themselves more prominently to the care of souls, while the latter were more active in the field of public education. (F. B. STECK.)

KNIGHT, S. K., *Fulfilling the Ministry*. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. xi, 219, \$2.50.)

This posthumous volume by the late Bishop of Jarrow is based upon the Cambridge Pastoral Theology Lectures which the author delivered during the season of 1925-1926. As the prefatory note informs us, social and economic changes in English life as well as the new concept of the pastoral office that came with the Oxford Movement had rendered classical treatises obsolete and had created a demand for a thorough handling of the pastoral office from the modern point of view. Bishop Knight answered the need with the present volume. In offering it to the ordination candidates and younger clergy of his Church, he has presented them with the fruit of a life filled with pastoral experiences, wide readings and personal devotion. To these it should prove a sound guide and inspiring ideal.

To the Catholic priest and theological student the volume presents many familiar maxims and principles of pastoral theology. It is of interest to note that the Anglican clergy are confronted with the same problems as we and it is encouraging to learn that they have sought the solution in the same lofty ideals we were taught in our seminaries. Bishop Knight's treatise has much in common with the Catholic principles of pastoral theology. It is

to be hoped that to the Anglican clergy it will long be the guide and inspiration that St. Alphonsus's *Sylvia*, Manning's *Eternal Priesthood* and Gibbons' *Ambassador of Christ* have been to Catholic priests. (GERALD J. GEARY.)

KRAMER, STELLA, Ph. D., *A Path to Understanding*. (New York, The Baker and Taylor Co., 1933, pp. vii, 259.)

Teachers of history who are desirous of improving their methods of teaching a branch so important as is history will find this volume by Dr. Stella Kramer of great value. In it she points out with arresting evidences the weaknesses of not only our courses in history but of what is still more humiliating, our failure to aid in the mental development and mental growth of our college students. On the positive side this volume is an excellent and a telling brief for the need of greater correlation of studies in our high schools and colleges. The care and needful direction of students in these periods of their educational progress has been explained in the first chapter in a very commendable manner. In the next four chapters our professors and instructors have much that, if they are honest, will at least provoke them to examine their conscience and grasp the difference between the static and the dynamic mode of procedure. The next chapter is a serious presentation of the reasons why students fail to evidence that interest and its consequent progress in higher educational procedure and preparation for university work. The last four chapters must be read to be appreciated, and in their reading our teachers will find most worthwhile suggestions that will aid them in realizing that narrow specialization, the baneful product of present day university work, must give way to broad culture such as was the product of those schools before the revolt of the 16th century. Rugged individualism has yet to receive a more effective condemnation than has been given to it in this volume from the pen of Dr. Kramer. (LEO L. MCVAY.)

LAMBERT, SIR HENRY, *The Nature of History*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. vii, 94, \$1.75.)

Is history a science? Is certainty attainable in history? Is impartiality possible in history? These three questions, interesting enough and interestingly discussed by the author of the present volume, will never be definitely settled. Their solution depends on what one takes the terms "science," "certainty," and "impartiality" to connote; and on these there will never be unanimity of opinion. Discussion of these questions is useful, however, as it helps to clarify what the author proposes in the title of the volume. What he writes in the last chapter on the value of history is generally accepted, though not always properly appreciated. (F. B. S.)

LE FORT, GERTRUD von, *The Song at the Scaffold*. Translated by Olga Marx. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1933, pp. x, 110, \$1.25.)

With a warmth and a tenderness seldom to be met with in modern prose, Gertrud von le Fort has told the story of sixteen Carmelite nuns of Compiègne who were guillotined during the French Revolution, and of a seven-

teenth whose greatest virtue was her mortal fear. The story has been written in the form of a letter purporting to come from an observer of events in Paris to a noblewoman living in exile. The basic theme, that of the mystical union of Blanche de la Force with the mortal agony of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, is both unusual and gripping. Similar stories are seldom fortunate enough to find an interpreter of such eminent ability as Fraülein von le Fort, perhaps the leading Catholic writer of Germany. For sheer beauty of expression and depth of thought, this little book should rank high in the lists of modern Catholic literature. (JOHN J. MENG.)

LEHMAN, CHESTER K., *The Inadequacy of Evolution*. (Scottsdale, Pa., Mennonite Publishing House, 1933, pp. xvi, 255.)

The first part of this volume, where the author kept his purpose clearly in mind, is quite commendable and presents, especially in Chapters IV and V, some very cogent proofs that the scientific evidences for evolution are far from convincing. The latter half, however, fails to aid, and in fact tends to weaken, the proofs presented in the first half of the work. Let us take Chapter VI, for example. Suppose an evolutionist should propose to the author that he failed to explain satisfactorily verses 24 and 25 of Chapter XXI of St. John's Gospel, or verse 26 in Second Epistle of St. Peter, Chapter III, or St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, II, 14, or that arresting statement of St. Augustine in his Letter against the Manichaeans, "I would not believe the Gospels did not the authority of the Catholic Church move me to do so." Again, suppose an evolutionist should point out that the theory of evolution was first proposed by Lamarck, who was a member of the Catholic Church. Suppose that he pointed out to the author that Louis Pasteur's Catholic Faith was not injured by his views on evolution. Suppose he informed him that he found the following quotation in a manual of religion for use in Catholic schools: "There is no objection, as far as faith is concerned, to assuming the descent of all plants and animal species from a few types. Scripture does not tell us in what form the present species of plants and animals were created." In short, the author in the second half of this work fails to show that the Bible is not a text-book of science. As someone once said, "the Bible tells us how to go to Heaven, not how the Heavens go." (LEO L. McVAY.)

LINNEBORN, JOHANNES, *Grundriss des Eherechts nach dem Codex Iuris Canonici*, 4th and 5th ed. (Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1933, pp. xvi, 502.)

The author, who died January 22, 1933, first published this commentary on Canon Law as it applies to marriage in 1919. While the pages in the present edition number only three more than in the first, this is no indication of the increase in the work itself. For a more frequent use of smaller type and an omission of the text of the canons as also many references to the older law (though hardly well advised) have made room for a somewhat longer interpretation. The author introduces every section with a choice bibliogra-

phy and an historical note which, though concise, is as a rule excellent; then follows a clear explanation of the prevailing canonical legislation with practical notes and formularies: all this is brought up to date by embodying recent declarations of the Holy See. Most sections close with pertinent remarks on the German and Austrian civil laws which have peculiar application especially in view of the concordats in force in those countries. Twenty-six pages of index add materially to the usefulness of the work. To those who would not be content merely with a knowledge of the bare canonical legislation on matrimony this *Grundriss* cannot be recommended too highly. (VALENTINE T. SCHAAF, O. F. M.)

LORTZ, Dr. JOSEPH, *Geschichte der Kirche*. (Muenster i. W., Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932, pp. 392.)

The author of this interesting and scholarly work presents a history of the Church "in ideengeschichtlicher Betrachtung" which, as he himself explains, means a history in its manifold structure and complicated classification, with its principal, secondary and counter currents, however, in such a manner that the *ideas* stand out as the predominant forces.

This Church history was originally intended for German college students preparing for their final examinations (Abiturium). However, its scope was expanded to such an extent that it may now be profitably perused by academically trained persons who are desirous of acquainting themselves with the important facts of the history of the Church. The method employed by the author will make this work attractive and interesting. The reader will be amazed at the wealth of information which he will obtain from this volume. Of particular interest are the chapters dealing with the events of our modern times which the author presents in a clear and concise manner. Dr. Lortz has done the Church a great service by the frank discussion of facts which at times are disregarded in Church histories. His work will not only be a valuable addition to the library of the academic layman, but also of the theological student who may have to refresh his memory with certain facts from the extensive field of Church history. An English translation of this work would be most welcome. (L. B.)

MCCLURE, WALLACE, *World Prosperity, as Sought through the Economic Work of the League of Nations*. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1933, pp. xl, 613.)

In refreshing contrast to the prevalent rumors of war and the volumes of material dealing with the economic separatism of nations is this volume on the Economic Work of the League of Nations with its emphasis on the constructive work of the League in all fields of economic activity. The author, who was formerly Acting Economic Adviser of the Department of State of the United States, has not only prepared a carefully documented record of the economic activities of the League in regard to raw materials, international trade, finance, labor, cycles of prosperity and depression, and many minor items, but has also introduced his analysis with a summary of international efforts towards economic unity during a century preceeding the establishment of the League. If the net impression of this review of the League's economic activities points to the fact that its recommendations have been more often

"honored in the breach than in the observance" by national powers, there is, nevertheless, substantial ground for the guarded optimism of the author in the progress of the League's economic activities. As Sir Arthur Salter states in his brief foreword, "We now know, as we never knew before, that national prosperity is dependent upon international conditions"; this point of view is stressed by Dr. McClure throughout the book. It is a viewpoint characteristic of the main line of economic thought, as of England, the nation which gave birth to that thought.

If mercantilism with its ultranationalistic bias and economic separatism still persists, it is not because of the economists, although some schools of economic thought have been guilty of too exclusive an interest in national affairs, but in spite of the economists. Economic analysis has long since pointed out the ends to be aimed at, if world prosperity is to be attained, and the principles that obtain, but to the League has been left the far more difficult task of formulating the concrete means to be employed in attaining these ends in a world of jarring nationalisms. There is, therefore, little cause for wonder at the halting progress of the League in its efforts to develop greater international cooperation; rather is there cause for thankfulness that so much has been and is being accomplished during a difficult period of readjustment. (C. W. HASEK.)

MACCORKLE, STUART ALEXANDER, *American Policy of Recognition Towards Mexico*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, pp. 110, \$1.00.)

This timely book represents an attempt, as the author states in the preface, to analyze each instance in which the United States discussed the granting of recognition to a Mexican government and to determine the basis upon which such recognition was given or withheld. In the first chapter the more important general principles regarding recognition are briefly stated. Its historical development is traced, its powers discussed, and the various modes of according recognition considered. The author examines in detail the policy of the United States from which policy our government has not hesitated to deviate when expediency demanded. The historical background is carefully gone into in the second chapter, disclosing the motive for the first revolt on the part of Spanish-America from the mother country and pursuing the spirit of revolt until the formal application for recognition which the United States was the first, of the family of nations, to recognize. Chapter three deals with the anarchy which prevailed between 1825-1860. Despite the lawless condition of these years and the numbers of rulers overthrown and forced to leave the country, the United States withdrew her diplomats upon only three occasions. Louis Napoleon's attempt to set up an empire in Mexico is well treated in the fourth chapter. Despite the opposition on the part of the United States to this design, Maximilian made an effort to obtain recognition of his government by the United States. Chapters five and six deal with the Diaz government and recognition since 1910. (Sister M. HELEN.)

MAICHLE, Dr. ALBERT, *Der Kanon der biblischen Buecher und das Konzil von Trient*. (Freiburg, i. B., Herder, 1929, pp. 104.)

This scholarly study deals with the Canon Decree of the Council of Trent.

The decree itself was published April 8, 1546, and it pertains to the important decision of that Council with regard to the Bible question. The Biblical Canon which had been sanctioned in its traditional stability by the Florentinum experienced in the turbulent 16th century a twofold disturbance. One emanated from the Bible criticism which was rooted in Humanism, the other was caused by the Reformation. The Canon Decree was the result of the Council's discussions and deliberations extending over two months. The author has succeeded in treating the Bible problem at the time of the Tridentinum in such a manner that the Canon Decree is placed thereby in the proper light and thus receives its justification. Dr. Maichle's study will be welcomed by all students of the Sacred Scriptures as well as by all those who are interested in the ever important decisions of the Tridentinum. (L. B.)

MORICE, CHANOINE HENRI, *La Vie Mystique de Saint Paul*. Tome Second. (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1933, pp. 264.)

A critic of Saint Paul has told us that his character is due to two spiritual forces which are seldom found united in the same individual to the same degree, namely dialectical power and religious inspiration. The present work attempts to present a unified picture of Paul from these two angles and to show especially the influence of his mysticism on his work. In the second volume of the work Saint Paul is studied as an ascetic, as an apostle, and as a man. In this study Canon Morice utilizes to the best advantage his knowledge of mysticism, his gift of psychological analysis and his literary erudition. It is a sane and reasoned portrait always keeping before the reader that it was not grace alone, nor intellect alone, but both grace and intellect that produced Paul. (J. S. CONSIDINE, O.P.)

NEUSS, WILHELM, *Die Anfänge des Christentums im Rheinlande*, in *Rheinische Neujahrblätter*, 2. Heft. Zweite, vermehrte Auflage. (Bonn, Ludwig Rohrscheid 1933.)

The purpose of this monograph, which appeared in its first edition in 1923, is to describe the beginnings of Christianity during the Roman period in the territory of the present Rheinprovinz. It thus excludes from its scope the right bank of the Rhine, which was Christianized in the Frankish age. The author has examined systematically all existing literary evidence and has utilized all the epigraphical and archaeological finds to date. He has done his work critically and his monograph constitutes a valuable aid to our knowledge of the beginnings of Christianity in Germany. The notes following the main exposition contain a copious bibliography. The work is well indexed, and forty-nine good illustrations supplement the descriptions of the archaeological materials. (M. R. P. M.)

PHELAN, REV. THOMAS P., M. A., Litt. D., LL. D., *Thomas Dongan, Colonial Governor of New York, 1683-1688*. (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1933, pp. xv, 150, \$2.00.)

It is just a short time since the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first popular assembly in the colony of New York, which was convened under the direction of Thomas Dongan, governor of the colony at the time. Dr. Phelan has made that event the occasion for his publication of this brief

biography of the colonial governor. As he says in his preface: "The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the convocation of the Assembly at Fort James seems a fitting time to proclaim the deeds of this Catholic hero."

In the 150 pages comprising this little book the author, who is professor of Ecclesiastical History and Patrology, in the Catholic Foreign Mission Seminary of America, at Maryknoll, New York, takes the reader through the services of Dongan to representative government in the colony, Indian relations, the establishment of the Latin School, and certain municipal enactments for New York City under his regime. The difficulties of the governor after retirement from office in 1688 with the fall of James II, and his saddened last days in exile are recounted briefly.

The volume contains an index adequate for its size. There is also a brief bibliography from which the work of Dr. John H. Kennedy on *Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, 1683-1688*, done under the direction of Professor Guilday at the Catholic University of America in 1930, is missing. Most of the materials have been drawn from the *Documentary History of the State of New York* and the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*. Unfortunately the style is marred by needless and tiresome repetition of detail. The volume should prove a useful and handy source for information on the Catholic governor, but in no sense is it a definitive biography. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS.)

SALMON, EDWARD DWIGHT, *Imperial Spain: The Rise of the Empire and the Dawn of Modern Sea Power*. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 154.)

This splendid monograph well maintains the high standard of the *Berkshire Studies in European History* and is free from the absurd anti-Spanish prejudices which have marred so many English-speaking studies of the subject. It falls into three sections: an introductory outline of Spain up to the accession of Charles V; the reign of Charles V; and that of Philip II. Containing an adequate bibliography and a good index it will be of great use as collateral reading. (A. M. T., O. P.)

SIGNER, Dr. P. LEUTFRID, O. M. Cap., *Die Predigtanlage bei P. Michael Angelus von Schorno, O. M. Cap. (1631-1712)*. [Sectio Historica: Tom. I, Bibliotheca Seraphico-Capuccina.] (Assisi, Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, 1933, pp. xiii, 151.)

This is a very elaborate and scholarly contribution to the history of homiletics. The author examines as to content and structure the sermons of the celebrated Capuchin preacher, Michael Angelus of Schorno, in order to learn what influence the baroque age exerted on the pulpit activities of the time. He discovers a telling Italian influence in these sermons and believes that further research will reveal a similar influence in other fields, which in turn would account for the force and effectiveness of the baroque precisely in Switzerland where Father Schorno was principally active. (F. B. STECK.)

SNOY D'OPFUERS, BARON, Docteur en Sciences Politiques et Diplomatiques, Belgian Fellow of the C. R. B. Educational Foundation, *La Commission des Douanes et la Politique Commerciale des Etats-Unis*. (Bruxelles, L'Edition Universelle, S. A., 1933, pp. iv, 286.)

This work which was offered by the author toward his degree of "Docteur

en Sciences Politiques et Diplomatiques" of the University of Louvain is an important contribution to the economic history of the United States. Interested in the question of protectionism or free trade, he discusses with the conviction of one whose investigations have been thorough the measure in which either protectionism or free trade should be practiced, according to what standards the choice should be made, and finally who should be responsible for the decision. He also examines the political philosophy which determined the foundation and the development of the American nation. Written in a clear and vigorous manner which displays a reasoning at once precise and daring, the book is a particularly valuable lesson for those interested in the science of government during these days of political chaos.

After an introductory chapter on the political problem of international commerce, he treats successively the customs policy of the United States, the Tariff Commission from 1916, the flexible tariff and the juridical controversies as well as the public opinion which it provoked, the reform of the flexible tariff in 1919-1920, the United States and the political problem of international commerce, and finally the results of the American experience. He also gives his own evaluation of these important questions.

This work has been well received by economists and students of political theory on the Continent and in England. It should have the same reception in the United States where Baron Snoy d'Oppuers lived for some time studying principally under the direction of Doctor Frank W. Taussig of Harvard University. It is a book which is more than a mere compilation of facts and tests. It is a singularly intelligent appreciation of the economic and political problems which present themselves to the people of the United States. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

SPRIETSMAN, CARGILL, *We Imperialists! Notes on Ernest Seillière's Philosophy of Imperialism*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. viii, 153, \$1.50.)

In this volume Cargill Sprietsma has attempted to summarize the more than forty volumes of criticism in the course of which Baron Ernest Seillière has expounded his theory of "imperialism." The word is here applied in a sense unusual in English though its basic nature, on the part of nations, has given rise to the term among us. It is based upon the principle that all human activity is motivated by self aggrandizement, the "libido dominandi" of the scholastic, the "Wille zur Macht" of Nietzsche, and forms the major part of a psychological triangle, the other two sides of which are "mysticism" i. e., the concept of a supernatural ally and "rationalism" i. e., the reasoning use of past experience. This study is of value as giving some insight into many trends now affecting racial and national activities. It is unfortunate that Sprietsma is lucid neither stylistically nor analytically but the monograph will be of use to introduce Seillière. (A. M. T., O. P.)

TEWKSBURY, DONALD G., *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War, with particular reference to the religious influences bearing upon the College movement*. [Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 543.] (New York, Columbia University, 1932, pp. x, 254.) The purpose of the study is "to sketch some of the larger features of the

general movement for the founding of colleges in the period before the Civil War, and to present a body of factual material bearing on the colleges that were founded on a permanent basis during this formative period of our national life." In the work "a college has been defined . . . as an institution of higher education which is legally empowered to confer degrees in the liberal arts." "A state university is a degree-conferring institution of higher education placed by legal stipulation under the predominant control of the State." In each case the date of foundation is that of the granting of the State charter empowering the conferring of degrees. Only institutions which have endured since their foundation to the present have been included in the study. Only factors which governed the foundation and the relations with the Church or the State have been treated.

The general conclusion is that the "denominational college" was the prevailing American college of the colonial and middle periods of our history. Not until the new social, political, and economic ideals arose after the Civil War did the State university take on its new strength and power. In almost every instance the State universities which were established before the Civil War encountered serious opposition from the religious interests which were in control of higher education during the middle period of our history. Both in the East and on the frontier the American college was founded to meet the spiritual necessities of a new continent. The denominational colleges served not only as the strategic centers of varying religious interests but also as the radiating centers of varying cultural patterns. (ARTHUR J. RILEY.)

TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON, *The Significance of Sections in American History*.

With an Introduction by Max Farrand. (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1933, pp. ix, 347, \$3.00.)

To this posthumous volume of the late Professor Turner was accorded the Pulitzer Prize in American History for 1933—a gracious recognition of the author's contribution to historical scholarship. It consists of a series of twelve essays, reprinted from various journals, which evidently were to form the thesis of a companion volume to the author's *Frontier in American History*. Ten maps illuminate the text. Friends and students of Professor Turner will rejoice to have these further evidences of his constructive thinking. Some phases of his well-known frontier thesis may not survive the modifications of time and of future interpretation, but there is much that will endure to perpetuate the memory of this inspiring teacher and lovable gentleman. (L. F. S.)

VANNUTELLI, PRIMUS, *De Presbytero Joanne apud Papiam*. (Rome and Turin, Berutti, 1933, pp. 61.)

The purpose of this little monograph is to reexamine the question of the identity of the presbyter John mentioned in the famous citation from Papias in Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.*, III, 39, 3-4). The author maintains that presbyter John is to be distinguished from John the Apostle. His argument is based upon the normal interpretation of the passage as it stands and especially upon the fact that, so far as he has been able to discover, the word *presbyter* is not used by Papias or his Christian contemporaries to refer to any one of the Twelve Apostles. Beyond the detailed investigation of the meaning and appli-

cations of the term *presbyter*, the monograph adds nothing new. Since the author, however, is familiar with most of the literature on the problem and cites it, his work is a useful summary of the state of the question to date. It should be observed that, while maintaining the separate existence of presbyter John, Vannutelli does not assign to him the authorship of any part of the New Testament. (M. R. P. M.)

WATTERS, MARY, Ph. D., Professor of History and Government, Arkansas State College, Jonesboro, Arkansas, *A History of the Church in Venezuela, 1810-1930*. (Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1933, pp. 260, \$3.00.)

In this excellent study, heavily documented and enriched with a valuable bibliography, the author portrays in the Introduction the activities of the Catholic Church in Venezuela during the colonial period and then in six chapters relates the position and influence of the Church in Venezuela during the nineteenth century. In none of the Spanish colonies in America did the Church lose her political and social influence so early and so completely as in Venezuela. Contributing factors to this unique feature of Venezuelan history are fully and ably discussed, though, as stated in the Preface, "the author . . . does not attempt to offer a definitive explanation" for this unique feature. The Real Patronato, as it obtained in colonial times, is still in force. Also, there is union of Church and State; but the State is anti-clerical and as such opposed to separation of Church and State, insisting "on the union," to quote the author, "as the only means for maintaining surveillance over the church" (p. 221).

Perhaps because he is better acquainted and more interested in the colonial period of Hispanic American history, the reviewer would single out the fifty pages of the Introduction as the best portion of the book. Frankness of expression, warmth of appreciation, and soundness of judgment in matters until recently misunderstood and misrepresented combine to make this Introduction a model of historical writing. Here as well as in the main portion of her study Miss Watters treats her subject with the attitude of a scholar; the result could not be otherwise—a fine and commendable piece of historical scholarship. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Age of Man. J. K. Lipman, S. J. (*Thought*, June). I. Pithecanthropus to Neanderthal.

The Historic Present. Gilbert Murray (*History*, March).

Le missioni cattoliche nel 1933. Bernardino Caselli (*Il Pensiero Missionari*, March).

The Vatican and Calendar Reform. E. S. Schwegler (*Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, May).

History as Literature. Burton Rascoe (*English Journal*, May).

The Constitution *Execrabilis* of Alexander IV. G. Barraclough (*English Historical Review*, April).

Pope Boniface VIII. F. M. Powicke (*History*, March).

Leo XIII and History. W. P. Donnelly, S. J. (*America*, April 28).

- Conservative, Liberal, Socialist. Sir Andrew Macphail (*University of Toronto Quarterly*, April).
- Catholicism and the Jews. G. W. Rushton (*Irish Monthly*, April).
- Cluniacs and Cistercians (concluded). Edmund Bishop (*Downside Review*, April).
- The Jesuit Reviews. John La Farge, S. J. (*America*, April 14).
- Northern Africa in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. Hugh Pope, O. P. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April).
- John de Pouilli and Peter de la Palu. J. G. Sikes (*English Historical Review*, April). Quarrel over origin and nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.
- Medieval Gem Stones. U. T. Holmes (*Speculum*, April).
- The Six Precepts of the Church: Their History. A. D. Frenay, O. P. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, May).
- A Medieval Sauce-Book. Lynn Thorndike (*Speculum*, April).
- La tragédie de l'église évangélique. Pierre Delattre (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, May). I. Les assauts de l'État.
- The Society of the Atonement: Its Genesis and History (continued). T. J. O'Connell (*Lamp*, April, May).
- The Protestant Sects: the Evangelical Sects. Edward Hawks (*Missionary*, May).
- Anti-Religion in Russia. J. Aufhauser (*Commonweal*, May 18).
- Japanese Trappists. Thomas Lyell (*Month*, May).
- The Beguinage Movement. Edith Cowell (*Catholic World*, June).

EUROPEAN

- Arnold of Brescia: a Study in the Puritanism of the XIIth Century. W. L. Doughty (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, April).
- The Settling of the English Benedictines at Douai (concluded). Frédéric Fabre (*Downside Review*, April).
- La prudence du cardinal de Richelieu. Fidaio Justiniani (*Revue des Etudes Historiques*, January-March).
- Lafayette. E. T. S. Dugdale (*Quarterly Review*, April).
- Lafayette and the Church. Michael de la Bedoyre (*Catholic World*, May).
- Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, Cardinal of Spain, 1436-1517. J. R. Meagher (*Clergy Review*, May).
- Giles Robles and Spanish Politics. P. McBride (*Irish Monthly*, April).
- The Churches in Germany. Reinhold Niebuhr (*American Scholar*, Summer).
- The Catholic Church Faces Hitlerism. J. B. Mason (*Sewanee Review*, April).
- The Catholic Church in Nazi Germany, II. L. J. Stanley (*Dublin Review*, April).
- Religion und Kirche in neuen Deutschland. R. H. Grützmacher (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, April).
- The House of Herder. G. N. Shuster (*Commonweal*, April 27).
- Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen: a Patrician of the Eleventh Century. E. N. Johnson (*Speculum*, April).
- St. Catherine of Siena at Avignon. Kathleen O'Dea (*Rosary*, April).
- Notes on Early Christian Libraries in Rome. Ethel D. Roberts (*Speculum*, April).
- The Legend of Italian Scepticism. Count Sforza (*Contemporary Review*, April).
- Leone XIII e l'Abate Tosti. Vanna Fedele (*Nuova Antologia*, April).
- Saint Bridget of Sweden. Carl A. Selvin (*Rosary*, April).
- The Uniat Church in Galicia (1914-1917). D. Doroshenko (*Slavonic Review*, April).
- The Catholic Church in Slovakia. Anton Kompánek (*Slavonic Review*, April).

BRITISH EMPIRE

- Theological Schools in Medieval England. G. G. Coulton (*Church Quarterly Review*, April).

- Essays in Monastic History, 1066-1216. David Knowles (*Downside Review*, April). VIII. The diet of the Black Monks.
- Diplomatic Relations of Edward I and Albert of Austria. H. S. Lucas (*Speculum*, April).
- Monastic Demesnes and the Statute of Mortmain. T. A. M. Bishop (*English Historical Review*, April).
- How England was made Protestant. Hilaire Belloc (*America*, May 19).
- The Pallium in the History of the Church of England. F. Cabrol (*Dublin Review*, April).
- The Lutheran Source of the Anglican Ordinal, IV. E. C. Messenger (*Clergy Review*, April).
- Queen Elizabeth's Masters. Hilaire Belloc (*America*, April 21).
- The Elizabethan Myth. Hilaire Belloc (*America*, June 2).
- The True Story of "Bloody Mary". Hilaire Belloc (*America*, April 7).
- The London Oratory, 1884-1934. Archbishop Alban Goodier (*Month*, May).
- The Saints of Cornwall. William Lawson (*Month*, May).
- Les conversations de Malines: à propos de la mort de Lord Halifax. J. Schyrgens (*La Revue Générale*, April).
- Abbot Chapman. G. R. Hudleston, O. S. B. (*Dublin Review*, April).
- Acton, 1834-1902. W. L. Blennerhassett (*Dublin Review*, April).
- Charterhouse in Scotland (concluded). H. C. Mann (*Pax*, May).
- The O'Briens of Thomond and Twelfth-Century Church Reform. M. G. Casey (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April).
- The Diocese of Dublin in its Beginnings (continued). Myles V. Ronan (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April, June).
- Cartier à Gaspé. C. E. Roy (*Canada Français*, May).

UNITED STATES

- A Bulla of Otto III in America. E. V. Moffett (*Speculum*, April). In Wellesley College.
- Fr. Marcos de Niza. H. R. Wagner (*New Mexico Historical Review*, April).
- Jolliet Goes West. Stanley Faye (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, April).
- Samuel de Champlain and His Lake. Elisabeth Cutting (*New York History*, April).
- Dix-huit mois prisonnier chez les Iroquois. Donatien Frémont (*Canada Français*, June, July, August). First chapter of a biography of Pierre Esprit Radisson.
- Catholic Beginnings in Maryland. I. G. J. Garraghan, S. J. (*Thought*, June).
- Catholics and the American Declaration of Independence, IV, V, VI. J. M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April, May, June).
- Worthy of Immortality (Daniel Carroll). D. C. Lawless (*Columbia*, June).
- Some Early (Irish) Teachers in Connecticut. R. J. Purcell (*Catholic Educational Review*, June).
- Letters to Bishop Henni (continued). P. L. Johnson (*Salesianum*, April).
- Letters of Father Franz Pierz, Pioneer Missioner, V. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, May, June).
- The Transition of a New-World Bohemia. Esther Jerabek (*Minnesota History*, March). Includes account of Catholic Czechs in Northwest.
- Polish Immigration a Century Ago. R. J. Purcell (*America*, June 9).
- The First Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Milwaukee. Stephen Klopfer (*Salesianum*, April).
- Munich and Milwaukee. Theodore Roemer, O. M. Cap. (*Salesianum*, April).
- Work of the Ludwig-Missionsverein.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW).

- Baisnée, Jules A., *France and the Establishment of the American Catholic Hierarchy: The Myth of French Interference (1783-1784)* Institut Français de Washington (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. ix-182, \$2.50).
- Benoist, Charles, *Souvenirs: tome troisieme et dernier, 1902-1933, Vie Parlementaire, Vie Diplomatique* (Paris, Plon, 1934, pp. 495-xxxvi, 36 fr.).
- Beyens, Baron, *Quatre ans à Rome: 1921-1926* (Paris, Plon, 1934, pp. 304).
- Braimond, l'abbé J., *Je suis la Voie* (Paris, Téqui, 1934, pp. 301, 10 fr.).
- Brodrick, J., S. J., *The Economic Morals of the Jesuits* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 158, \$2.25).
- Buell, Raymond Leslie, Editor, *New Governments in Europe* (New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934, pp. ix-440, \$2.50).
- Carbone, Caesare, *Obiectionum Cumulata Collectio*, Vol. I. *Logica* (Turin, Italy, Marietti, 1934, pp. 530).
- Cavanagh, Sister Agnes, M. A., *Pope Gregory VII and the Theocratic State* (Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America, 1934, pp. xiv-143).
- Clark, Chester Wells, *Franz Joseph and Bismarck: the Diplomacy of Austria Before the War of 1866* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1934, pp. xi-635).
- Crumley, Thomas, C. S. C., *Logic, Deductive and Inductive* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 442, \$2.40).
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- De Hovre-Jordan, *Catholicism in Education* (New York, Benziger Bros., 1934, pp. xx-501, \$2.61 net).
- Doerr, Otmar, *Das Institut der inclusen in sudddeutschland* (Münster i/W., Aschendorffschen Verlag., 1934, pp. xvi-168).
- Duplessy, Eugène, *La Morale Catholique* (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1932, pp. 565).
- Fansworth, Albert and G. B. O'Flynn, *The Story of Worcester, Massachusetts* (Worcester, Mass., The Davis Press, Inc., 1934, pp. 214, \$2.00).
- Gates, Paul Wallace, *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1934, pp. xiii-374, \$4.00).
- Gierke Otto, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society*, Vols. I and II, trans. by Ernest Barker (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 423, \$9.00).
- Grandmaison, Leonce, S. J., *Jésus Christ: His Person—His Message—His Credentials*, Vols. I, II, III (New York, Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1934, pp. 1229).
- Heuvelodp, Sister Helene, *Leben und Wirken Bernard Overbergs* (Münster i/W., Aschendorffschen Verlag., 1933, pp. 348).
- Hollis, Christopher, *The Breakdown of Money* (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1934, pp. xv-232, \$1.50).
- Hoffman, Ross, J. S., *Restoration* (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1934, pp. x-205, \$1.50).
- Hughes, Philip, *A History of the Church*, Vol. I (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1934, pp. x-388, \$3.50).

- Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, Vols. I and II (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 895, \$7.50 each vol.).
- Le Gouvello, Le Vicomte Hippolyte, *Armelle Nicolas dite la Bonne Armelle, Servante des Hommes et Amante du Christ: 1606-1671* (Paris, Téqui, 1934, pp. xvii-366, 10 fr.).
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- Lien, Arnold J. and Fainsod, Merle, *The American People and Their Government* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934, pp. xiv-629).
- Lunt, William E., *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1934, Vols. I and II, pp. 1005, \$12.50).
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- Millot, Mgr., *Plans de Sermons de Circonstances* (Paris, Téqui, 1934, pp. 284, 10 fr.).
- Mirbel, Tristan, *La Pentecote de Philippe* (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Press, 1934, pp. 75).
- Monumenta Ignatiana Sancti Ignatii De Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu* (Rome, Monumenta Historica, 1934, pp. cclxxii-458, 55 lire).
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- Roy, Pierre-Georges, *Les Juges de la Province de Quebec* (Quebec, 1933, pp. xxvii-588).
- Trevelyan, G. M., O. M., *The Mingling of the Races: History of England* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1934, pp. 192, \$1.35).
- Vercel, Roger, *Bertrand of Brittany* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1934, pp. xii-257, \$3.00).
- Whitaker, Arthur P., *The Mississippi Question: 1795-1803* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934, pp. v-342, \$3.50).

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

Rev. GERALD GROVELAND WALSH, S. J., M. A. (Oxon.) belongs to the rising group of young Jesuit historical scholars in the United States. His early education was received here and in Canada. From 1921 to 1924 he took an Honours Course in Modern History at the University of Oxford, winning the Marquis of Lothian Prize for a study entitled *Emperor Charles IV: (1316-1378)*. Since 1929 he has been professor of history in Woodstock College. His contributions have appeared mainly in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, *Thought*, *America*, the *Month* and other periodicals.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION is a national society for the promotion of study and research in the general history of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

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PUBLICATIONS

The principal papers read at the Annual Meeting will appear in the *Catholic Historical Review*, the official organ of the Association.

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The permanent headquarters of the Association are in the John K. Mullen of Denver Memorial Library at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.